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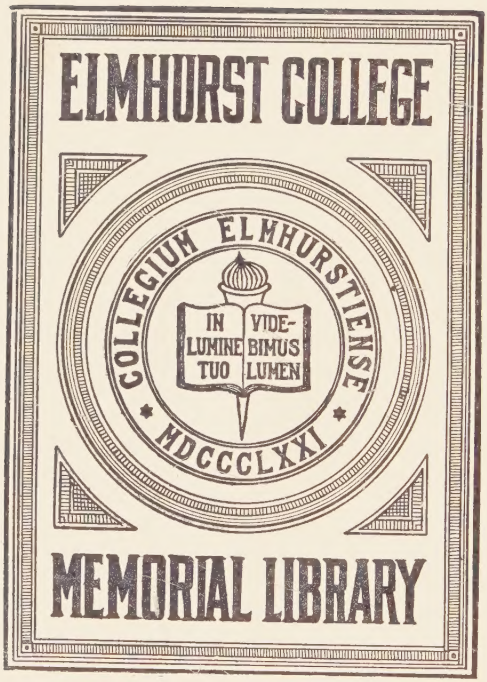
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Early Western Travels

Comprising

I. Memorable Days in America, being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive evidence, the condition and probable prospects of British Emigrants; including Accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois. By W. Faux, an English Farmer

II. A visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a Winter Residence at Philadelphia. By Adlard Welby

Edited with Notes, Introductions, Index, etc., by

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," "Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," "Hennepin's New Discovery," etc.

(Separate publication from "Early Western Travels: 1748-1846," in which these two reprints appeared as Volumes XI and XII)

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PART II (1820) of FAUX'S MEMORABLE DAYS IN AMERICA
NOVEMBER 27, 1818 – JULY 21, 1820

Reprint of the original edition: London, 1823. Part I is comprised in Volume XI of our series

JOURNAL

[PART II]

January 1st, 1820.— I left Princeton at ten o'clock, with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Wheeler; and here parted with my good and kind friend Ingle.

I met and spoke, ten miles off, with two hog-jobbing judges, Judge Prince and Judge Daniel,[104] driving home twenty fat hogs, which they had just bought.

I reached, and rested at Petersburgh,[105] consisting of fifteen houses. I passed good farms. Our landlord of this infant town, though having an [333] ostler, was compelled to groom, saddle, unsaddle, and to do all himself. Having fifty dollars owing to him, from a gentleman of Evansville, he arrested him, when he went into the bounds; then he sued one of the bondsmen, who also entered the bounds. The squire is next to be sued, who, it is expected, will do likewise.

Sunday, 2nd.— I rode thirty-one miles this day, and rested at Edmonstone, in a little cold log-hole, out of which I turned an officer's black cat, which jumped from the roof into our faces, while in bed; but she soon found her way in again, through a hole in the roof. The cat liked our fire. We got no coffee nor tea, but cold milk and pork, and corn cake.

[104] Richard Daniel came to Princeton in 1816. He was a circuit judge for one year (1819-20), and subsequently represented Gibson County in the legislature.— Ed.

[105] Petersburg is fifteen miles south of Washington. Several families had settled in the neighborhood by 1817. Pike County being organized in that year, it was chosen as the county seat, and a town surveyed and platted. It was incorporated in 1855.— Ed.

3rd.— Travelled all day, through the mud-holes formed by springs running from countless hills, covered with fine timber, to breakfast, at three o'clock, p. m. I supped and slept at Judge Chambers's, a comfortable house, and saw again the judge's mother, of eighty, whose activity and superior horsemanship, I have before mentioned. I smoked a segar with Mrs. Judge, while she smoked her pipe, (the first pipe I have seen here.) She, as well as the old lady, is a quaker. The judge was gone to the metropolitan town of Coridon, being a senator, on duty.[106] The land which I passed over all this day, seemed poor, but full of wild turkeys and bears.

4th.— I reached Miller's to supper, but found no [334] coffee; cold milk only, as a substitute. The ride hither is interesting, through a fine rolling country. The wolves howled around us all night.

5th.— Passed the Silver Hills,[107] from the summit of which is a fine, extensive prospect of Kentucky, the Ohio, and of Louisville, where we breakfasted. I called with Mr. Flower's letter to Archer, who was out. I received the present of a cow-hide whip, from a lady, and promised to treat the beast kindly, for her sake. Judge Waggoner recently shook hands at a whiskey-shop, with a man coming before him that day, to be tried for murder. He drank his health, and wished him well through.

I rode seven miles with an intelligent old Kentucky planter, having four children, who cultivate his farm,

[106] For the "mud holes" and Judge Chambers, see Hulme's *Journal*, volume x of our series, notes 28, 29. For Corydon, see Flint's *Letters*, in our volume ix, note 136.— Ed.

[107] The Silver Hills extend north from New Albany through Floyd and Clark counties, the two most prominent peaks being the "Haystack Knobs," at Bennettsville; the principal ridge is from four hundred to five hundred feet above the valley.— Ed.

without negroes. He says, "Kentucky is morally and physically ruined. We have been brought up to live without labour: all are demoralized. No man's word or judgment is to be taken for the guidance and government of another. Deception is a trade, and all are rogues. The west has the scum of all the earth. Long ago it was said, when a man left other States, he is gone to hell, or Kentucky. The people are none the better for a free, good government. The oldest first settlers are all gone or ruined. Your colt, sir, of one hundred dollars, is worth only fifteen dollars. At Louisville, as good a horse can be bought at ten dollars, or fifteen dollars. You are therefore cheated."

The Missouri territory boasts the best land in [335] the country, but is not watered by springs. Wells are, however, dug, abounding in good water, says our hearty landlord, just returned from viewing that country.

The bottom land is the finest in the world. Corn, from sixty to eighty bushels, and wheat, from forty to sixty bushels an acre. The best prairies are full of fine grass, flowers, and weeds, not coarse, benty, sticky grass, which denotes the worst of prairie land. Grass, of a short fine quality, fit for pasture or hay, every where abounds. The country is full of wild honey, some houses having made seven and eight barrels this season, taken out of the trees, which are cut down without killing the bees. These industrious insects do not sting, but are easily hived and made tame. Our landlord likes the Missouri, but not so well as Old Kentucky.

Two grim, gaunt-looking men burst into our room, at two, this morning; and by six, the landlord disturbed us by cow-hiding his negro, threatening to squeeze the life out of him.

6*th*.— I rode all day through a country of fine plantations, and reached Frankfort to supper, with the legislative body, where I again met my gay fellow-traveller, Mr. Cowen. It was interesting to look down our table, and contemplate the many bright, intelligent faces around me: men who might honour any nation. As strangers, we were [336] invited by the landlord, (the best I have seen) to the first rush for a chance at the table's head.

7*th*.— I travelled this day through a fine country of rich pasture and tillage, to Lexington City, to Keen's excellent tavern. I drank wine with Mr. Lidiard, who is removing eastward, having spent 1,100*l*. in living, and travelling to and fro. Fine beef at three cents per lb. Fat fowls, one dollar per dozen. Who would not live in old Kentucky's first city?

8*th*.— Being a wet day, I rested all day and this night. Prairie flies bleed horses nearly to death. Smoke and fire is a refuge to these distressed animals. The Indian summer smoke reaches to the Isle of Madeira.

Visited the Athenæum. Viewed some fine horses, at two hundred dollars each.

Sunday, 9*th*.— I quitted Lexington, and one of the best taverns in America, for Paris, Kentucky, and a good, genteel farm-house, the General Washington, twenty-three miles from the city, belonging to Mr. Hit, who, though owning between four hundred and five hundred acres of the finest land in Kentucky, does not think it beneath him to entertain travellers and their horses, on the best fare and beds in the country. He has been offered sixty dollars, and could now have forty dollars an acre, for his land, which averages thirty bushels of wheat, and sixty bushels of corn per acre, and, in [337] natural or artificial grass, is the first in the world. Sheep, (fine stores) one

dollar per head; beef, fine, three cents per lb., and fowls, one dollar per dozen.

10*th*.— Rode all day in the rain and mud, and through the worst roads in the universe, frequently crossing creeks, belly deep of our horses. Passed the creek at Blue-lick, belly deep, with sulphurous water running from a sulphur spring, once a salt spring. The water stinks like the putrid stagnant water of an English horse-pond, full of animal dung. This is resorted to for health.

Five or six dirkings and stabbings took place, this fall, in Kentucky.

11*th*.— Breakfasted at Washington, (Kentucky) where we parted with Mr. Phillips, and met the Squire, and another gentleman, debating about law. Rested at Maysville, a good house, having chambers, and good beds, with curtains. The steam-boats pass this handsome river town, at the rate of fifteen to twenty miles an hour. To the passenger, the effect is beautiful, every minute presenting new objects of attraction.

12*th*.— Crossed the Ohio in a flat, submitting to Kentuckyan imposition of seventy-five cents a horse, instead of twenty-five, because we were supposed to be Yankees. "We will not," said the boat-man, "take you over, for less than a dollar each. We heard of you, yesterday. The gentleman in the cap (meaning me) looks as though he [338] could afford to pay, and besides, he is so slick with his tongue. The Yankees are the smartest of fellows, except the Kentuckyans." Sauciness and impudence are characteristic of these boat-men, who wished I would commence a bridge over the river.

Reached Union town, Ohio,[108] and rested for the night.

[108] Uniontown is now Waverly, the name having been changed when the Ohio-Scioto Canal was constructed through the village (1830), and it acquired the dignity of a post-town. It is about twenty miles from Chillicothe.— Ed.

13*th.*— Breakfasted at Colonel Wood's. A fine breakfast on beef, pork-steaks, eggs, and coffee, and plenty for our horses, all for fifty cents each. Slept at Colonel Peril's, an old Virginian revolutionary soldier, living on 400 acres of fine land, in a good house, on an eminence, which he has held two years only. He now wishes to sell all at ten dollars an acre, less than it cost him, because he has a family who will all want as much land each, in the Missouri, at two dollars. He never had a negro. He knows us to be English from our dialect. We passed, this day, through two or three young villages.

14*th.*— Breakfasted at Bainbridge,[109] where is good bottom land, at twenty to thirty dollars an acre, with improvements. The old Virginian complains of want of labourers. A farmer must do all himself. Received of our landlady a lump of Ohio wild sugar, of which some families make from six to ten barrels a-year, sweet and good enough.

Reached Chilicothé, on the Sciota river, to [339] sup and rest at the tavern of Mr. Madera, a sensible young man. Here I met Mr. Randolph, a gentleman of Philadelphia, from Missouri and Illinois, who thinks both sickly, and not to be preferred to the east, or others parts of the west. I saw three or four good houses, in the best street, abandoned, and the windows and doors rotting out for want of occupants.

15*th.*— I rode all day through a fine interesting country, abounding with every good thing, and full of springs and streams. Near Lancaster,[110] I passed a large high ridge

[109] Bainbridge, located near the falls of Paint Creek, eighteen miles southwest of Chillicothe, was platted by Nathaniel Massie in 1805. It contained three families the first year, and for two years thereafter received no additions; but at the time of Faux's visit contained about twenty-five dwelling-houses.— Ed

[110] For the early history of New Lancaster, see Cuming's *Tour*, volume iv of our series, note 145.— Ed.

of rocks, which nature has clothed in everlasting green, being beautified with the spruce, waving like feathers, on their bleak, barren tops. I reached Lancaster to rest; a handsome county seat, near which land is selling occasionally from sixteen dollars to twenty dollars. A fine farm of 170 acres, 100 being cleared, with all improvements, was sold lately by the sheriff, at sixteen dollars one cent an acre, much less than it cost. Labour is to be had at fifty cents and board, but as the produce is so low, it is thought farming, by hired hands, does not pay. Wheat, fifty cents; corn, 33½ cents; potatoes, 33 cents a bushel; beef, four dollars per cwt.; pork, three dollars; mutton none; sheep being kept only for the wool, and bought in common at 2*s.* 8*d.* per head.

Met Judge and General ——, who states that four millions of acres of land will this year [340] be offered to sale, bordering on the lakes. Why then should people go to the Missouri? It is not healthy near the lakes, on account of stagnant waters, made by sand bars, at the mouth of lake rivers. The regular periodical rising and falling of the lakes is not yet accounted for. There is no sensible diminution, or increase of the lake-waters. A grand canal is to be completed in five years, when boats will travel.[111]

Sunday, 16*th.*— I left Lancaster at peep of day, travelling through intense cold and icy roads to Somerset, eighteen miles, in five hours, to breakfast.[112] Warmed at an old quarter-section man, a Dutch American, from Pennsylvania. He came here eleven years since, cleared seventy acres, has eight children, likes his land, but says, produce is too low to make it worth raising. People

[111] A brief account of the Erie Canal may be found in Buttrick's *Voyages*, volume viii of our series, note 37.— Ed.

[112] For the early history of Somerset, see Flint's *Letters*, volume ix of our series, note 35.— Ed.

comfortably settled in the east, on good farms, should stay, unless their children can come and work on the land. He and his young family do all the work. Has a fine stove below, warming the first, and all other floors, by a pipe passing through them.

I slept at a good tavern, the keeper of which is a farmer. All are farmers, and all the best farmers are tavern-keepers. Farms, therefore, on the road, sell from 50 to 100 per cent more than land lying back, though it is no better in quality, and for mere farming, worth no more. But on the road, a farm and frequented tavern is found to be [341] a very beneficial mode of using land; the produce selling for double and treble what it will bring at market, and also fetching ready money. Labour is not to be commanded, says our landlord.

17*th.*— Started at peep of day in a snow-storm, which had covered the ground six inches deep. Breakfasted at beautiful Zanesville, a town most delightfully situated amongst the hills. Twelve miles from this town, one Chandler, in boring for salt, hit upon silver; a mine, seven feet thick, 150 feet below the surface. It is very pure ore, and the proprietor has given up two acres of the land to persons who have applied to the legislature to be incorporated. He is to receive one-fifth of the net profits.

18*th.*— I rode all day through a fine hilly country, full of springs and fountains. The land is more adapted for good pasture than for cultivation. Our landlord, Mr. Gill, states that wheat at fifty cents is too low; but, even at that price, there is no market, nor at any other. In some former years, Orleans was a market, but now it gets supplied from countries more conveniently situated than Ohio, from which it costs one dollar, or one dollar

and a quarter per barrel, to send it. Boats carrying from 100 to 500 barrels, sell for only 16 dollars.

From a conversation, with an intelligent High Sheriff of this county, I learn that no common debtor has ever lain in prison longer than five [342] days. None need be longer in giving security for the surrender of all property.

19*th*.— Reached Wheeling late at night, passing through a romantic, broken, mountainous country, with many fine springs and creeks. Thus I left Ohio, which, thirty years ago, was a frontier state, full of Indians, without a white man's house, between Wheeling, Kaskasky, and St. Louis.

20*th*.— Reached Washington, Pennsylvania, to sleep, and found our tavern full of thirsty classics, from the seminary in this town.

21*st*.— Reached Pittsburgh, through a beautiful country of hills, fit only for pasture. I viewed the fine covered bridges over the two rivers Monongahela and Allegany, which cost 10,000 dollars each. The hills around the city shut it in, and make the descent into it frightfully precipitous. It is most eligibly situated amidst rocks, or rather hills, of coal, stone, and iron, the coals lying up to the surface, ready for use. One of these hills, or coal banks, has been long on fire, and resembles a volcano. Bountiful nature has done every thing for this rising Birmingham of America.

We slept at Wheeling, at the good hotel of Major Spriggs, one of General Washington's revolutionary officers, now near 80, a chronicle of years departed.[113]

22*nd*.— Bought a fine buffalo robe for five dollars. [343] The buffaloes, when Kentucky was first settled, were shot,

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[113] Major Zachariah Sprigg was an inn-keeper at Wheeling as early as May 21, 1781; in 1783 he was major of militia for Ohio County. Consult Draper MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Library, 2 SS 8 and 5 NN 16.— Ed.

by the settlers, merely for their tongues; the carcase and skin being thought worth nothing, were left where the animal fell.

Left Pittsburgh for Greensburgh, travelling through a fine, cultivated, thickly settled country, full of neat, flourishing, and good farms, the occupants of which are said to be rich. Land, *on* the road, is worth from fifteen to thirty dollars; *from* it, five to fifteen dollars per acre. The hills and mountains seem full of coal-mines and stone-quarries, or rather banks of coal and stone ever open gratuitously to all. The people about here are economical and intelligent; qualities characteristic of Pennsylvania.

Sunday, 23d.— We agreed to rest here until the morrow; finding one of our best horses sick; and went to Pittsburgh church.

24th.— My fellow traveller finding his horse getting worse, gave him away for our tavern bill of two days, thus paying 175 dollars for two days board. While this fine animal remained ours, no doctor could be found, but as soon as he became our landlord's, one was discovered, who engaged to cure him in a week. Mr. Wheeler took my horse, and left me to come on in the stage, to meet again at Chambersburgh.

The country round about here is fine, but there is no market, except at Baltimore, at five dollars a barrel for flour. The carriage costs two and half [344] dollars. I saw two young ladies, Dutch farmers' daughters, smoking segars in our tavern, very freely, and made one of their party. Paid twelve dollars for fare to Chambersburgh.[114]

Invited to a sleying party of ten gentlemen, one of

[114] For the more important places along this route, see Flint's *Letters*, in our volume ix, pp. 64-79.— Ed.

whom was the venerable speaker (Brady) of the senate of this state. They were nearly all drunk with apple-toddy, a large bowl of which was handed to every drinker. One gentleman returned with a cracked skull.

25*th.*— Left this town, at three o'clock in the morning, in the stage, and met again at Bedford, and parted, perhaps, for ever, with my agreeable fellow-traveller, Mr. Wheeler, who passed on to New York. Passed the Laurel-hill, a huge mountain, covered with everlasting green, and a refuge for bears, one of which was recently killed with a pig of 150lbs. weight in his mouth.

26*th.*— Again mounted my horse, passing the lonely Allegany mountains, all day, in a blinding snow-storm, rendering the air as dense as a November fog in London. Previous to its coming on, I found my naked nose in danger. The noses of others were wrapped up in flannel bags, or cots, and masks for the eyes, which are liable to freeze into balls of ice.

Passed several flourishing villages. The people here seem more economical and simple, than in other states. Rested at M'Connell's town, 100 miles from Washington city.

[345] 27*th.*— Crossed the last of the huge Allegany mountains, called the North Mount, nine miles over, and very high. My horse was belly deep in snow.

Breakfasted at Mercersburgh, at the foot of the above mountain, and at the commencement of that fine and richest valley in the eastern states, in which Hagar's town stands, and which extends through Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, from 100 to 200 miles long, and from 30 to 40 broad. Land here, three years ago, sold at 100 to 120 dollars, although now at a forced sale, 160 acres sold for only 1,600 dollars, with improvements, in Penn-

sylvania. And if, says my informant, the state makes no law to prevent it, much must come into the market, without money to buy, except at a ruinous depreciation.

Passed Hagar's town, to Boonsburgh, to rest all night, after 37 miles travel.

The old Pennsylvanian farmer, in answer to "How do you do without negroes?" said, "Better than with them. I occupy of my father 80 acres in this valley, and hire all my hands, and sell five loads of flour, while some of the Marylanders and Virginians cannot raise enough to maintain their negroes, who do but little work."

28*th.*— Breakfasted on the road; passed Middletown, with two fine spires, a good town; and also Frederick town, a noble inland town, and next to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, and the first [346] in the United States. It has three beautiful spires. It is much like a second rate English town, but not so cleanly; something is dirty, or in ruins. It stands at the foot of the Blue Ridge, in the finest, largest vale in the world, running from the eastern sea to the Gulf of Mexico.

Rested at Windmiller's, a stage-house, thirty miles from Washington, distinguished only by infamous, ungenerous, extortion from travellers. Here I paid 75 cents for tea; 25 cents for a pint of beer, 9*s.* sterling for a bushel of oats and corn, and 50 cents for hay for the night. The horse cost 6*s.* 9*d.* in one night.

29*th.*— Rode from seven till eleven o'clock, sixteen miles to breakfast, at Montgomery-court-house, all drenched in rain. I reached Washington city, at six this evening. Here, for the first time, I met friend Joseph Lancaster, full of visionary schemes, which are unlikely to produce him bread.

Sunday, 30*th.*— Went to Congress-hall, and heard grave

senators wrangling about slavery. Governor Barbour spoke with eloquence.

Friend Lancaster's daily and familiar calls on the great, and on his Excellency, the President, about schooling the Indians, and his praises of the members, are likely to wear out all his former fame, already much in ruins. I was this day introduced by him to —— Parr, Esq., an English gentleman of fortune, from Boston, Lincolnshire, [347] who has just returned from a pedestrian pilgrimage to Birkbeck and the western country.

February 1st.— I again went to Congress, where I heard Mr. Randolph's good speech on the Missouri question. This sensible orator continually refers to English authors and orators, insomuch that all seemed English. These American statesmen cannot open their mouths without acknowledging their British origin and obligations.— I shall here insert some observations on the constitution and laws of this country, and on several of the most distinguished members of Congress, for which I am indebted to the pen of G. Waterstone, Esq., Congressional Librarian at Washington.[115]

Observations on the Constitution and Laws of the United States, with Sketches of some of the most prominent public Characters.

Like the Minerva of the ancients, the American people have sprung, at once, into full and vigorous maturity, with-

[115] John Randolph, of Roanoke (1773-1833), was elected to Congress in 1800, serving until his opposition to the War of 1812-15 cost him his seat. He returned in 1815, and from that time assumed a strong states-rights attitude. Famed as an orator, he gained a special reputation as a master of sarcasm and bitter invective. See *ante* (volume xi), note 34.

George Watterston (1783-1854), was appointed first librarian of Congress by President Madison (March, 1815). He was a well-known writer on Washington life and scenes.— ED.

out the imbecility of infancy, or the tedious process of gradual progression. They possess none of the thoughtless liberality and inconsiderate confidence of youth; but are, already, distinguished by the cold and cautious policy of declining life, rendered suspicious by a long acquaintance with the deceptions and the vices of the world.

Practitioners of jurisprudence have become [348] almost innumerable, and the great end of all laws, the security and protection of the citizen, is in some degree defeated. It is to the multiplicity and ambiguity of the laws of his age, that Tacitus has ascribed most of the miseries which were then experienced; and this evil will always be felt where they are ambiguous and too numerous. In vain do the Americans urge that their laws have been founded on those of England, the wisdom and excellence of which have been so highly and extravagantly eulogized. The difference, as Mably correctly observes, between the situation of this country and that is prodigious;[116] the government of one having been formed in an age of refinement and civilization, and that of the other, amidst the darkness and barbarism of feudal ignorance. In most of the states the civil and criminal code is defective; and the latter, like that of Draco, is often written in blood. Why should not each state form a code of laws for itself, and cast off this slavish dependence on Great Britain, whom they pretend so much to dislike?

With a view of explaining more perfectly the nature of this constitution, I will briefly exhibit the points in which the British and American governments differ [349].

[116] Observations sur le Gouvernement et les Lois des U. S. p. 20.— FAUX. *Comment by Ed.* Gabriel Mably (1709-1785) was educated at a Jesuit college in Lyons, and lived the life of a scholar, publishing numerous works on history and law. The above book embodied his views on the United States Constitution, and was written at the request of Congress (1784).

In England.	*In America.*
I. The king possesses imperial dignity.	There is no king; the president acts as the chief magistrate of the nation only.
II. This imperial dignity is hereditary and perpetual.	The presidency lasts only four years.
III. The king has the sole power of making war and peace, and of forming treaties with foreign powers.	The president can do neither, without the consent of Congress.
IV. The king alone can levy troops, build fortresses, and equip fleets.	The president has no such power: this is vested in Congress.
V. He is the source of all judicial power, and the head of all the tribunals of the nation.	The executive has only the appointment of judges, with the consent of the senate, and is not connected with the judiciary.
VI. He is the fountain of all honour, office, and privilege; can create peers, and distribute titles and dignities.	The president has no such power. There are no titles, and he can only appoint to office, by and with the consent of the senate.
VII. He is at the head of the national church, and has supreme control over it.	There is no established church.
VIII. He is the superintendent of commerce; regulates the weights and measures, and can alone coin money and give currency to foreign coin.	The president has no such power.
IX. He is the universal proprietor of the kingdom.	The president has nothing to do with the property of the United States [350].
X. The king's person is sacred and inviolate; he is accountable to no human power, and can do no wrong.	The president is nothing more than an individual, is amenable like all civil officers, and considered as capable of doing wrong as any other citizen.
XI. The British legislature contains a house of lords, 300 nobles, whose seats, honours, and privileges are hereditary.	There are no nobles, and both houses of Congress are elected.

It may, perhaps, be unnecessary to adduce more points of difference to illustrate the nature of the American government. These are amply sufficient to demonstrate the entire democratic tendency of the constitution of the United States, and the error under which those persons labour, who believe that but few differences, and those immaterial and unimportant, exist between these two governments. They have, indeed, in common the Habeas Corpus and the Trial by Jury, the great bulwarks of civil liberty, but in almost every other particular they disagree.

The second branch of this government is the legislature. This consists of a Senate and House of Representatives; the members of the latter are chosen every two years by the people; and those of the former, every six years by the legislatures of the different states. It is in this branch that the American government differs from the republics of ancient and modern times; it is this which [351] makes it not a pure, but a representative democracy; and it is this which gives it such a decided superiority over all the governments in the world. Experience has demonstrated the impracticability of assembling a numerous collection of people to frame laws, and their incompetency, when assembled, for judicious deliberation and prompt and unbiassed decision. The passions of illiterate and unthinking men are easily roused into action and inflamed to madness. Artful and designing demagogues are too apt to take advantage of those imbecilities of our nature, and to convert them to the basest purposes.

The qualifications of representatives are very simple. It is only required that they should be citizens of the United States, and have attained the age of twenty-five. The moment their period of service expires, they are again,

unless re-elected, reduced to the rank and condition of citizens. If they should have acted in opposition to the wishes and interests of their constituents, while performing the functions of legislation, the people possess the remedy and can exercise it without endangering the peace and harmony of society; the offending member is dropped, and his place supplied by another, more worthy of confidence. This consciousness of responsibility, on the part of the representatives, operates as a perpetual guarantee to the people, and protects and secures them in the enjoyment of their political and civil liberties.

[352] It must be admitted that the Americans have attained the *Ultima Thulé* in representative legislation, and that they enjoy this inestimable blessing to a much greater extent than the people of Great Britain. Of the three distinct and independent branches of that government, one only owes its existence to the free suffrages of the people, and this, from the inequality of representation, the long intervals between the periods of election, and the liability of members, from this circumstance, to be corrupted, is not so important and useful a branch as might otherwise be expected. Imperfect, however, as it is, the people, without it, would indeed be slaves, and the government nothing more than a pure monarchy.

The American walks abroad in the majesty of freedom; if he be innocent, he shrinks not from the gaze of upstart and insignificant wealth, nor sinks beneath the oppression of his fellow-man. Conscious of his rights and of the security he enjoys, by the liberal institutions of his country, independence beams in his eye, and humanity glows in his heart. Has he done wrong? He knows the limits of his punishment, and the character of his judges. Is he innocent? He feels that no power on earth can crush

him. What a condition is this, compared with that of the subjects of almost all the European nations!

As long as it is preserved, the security of the citizen and the union of the states, will be guaranteed, [353] and the country thus governed, will become the home of the free, the retreat of misery, and the asylum of persecuted humanity. As a written compact, it is a phenomenon in politics, an unprecedented and perfect example of representative democracy, to which the attention of mankind is now enthusiastically directed. Most happily and exquisitely organized, the American constitution is, in truth, at once "a monument of genius, and an edifice of strength and majesty." The union of its parts forms its solidity, and the harmony of its proportions constitutes its beauty. May it always be preserved inviolate by the gallant and highminded people of America, and may they never forget that its destruction will be the inevitable death-blow of liberty, and the probable passport to universal despotism!

The speaker of the House of Representatives is Mr. Clay, a delegate from Kentucky, and who, not long ago, acted a conspicuous part, as one of the American commissioners at Ghent.[117] He is a tall, thin, and not very muscular man; his gait is stately, but swinging; and his countenance, while it indicates genius, denotes dissipation. As an orator, Mr. Clay stands high in the estimation of his countrymen, but he does not possess much gracefulness or elegance of manner; his eloquence is impetuous and vehement; it rolls like a torrent, but like a torrent which is sometimes irregular, and occasionally obstructed. Though there is a [354] want of rapidity and fluency in his elocu-

[117] Henry Clay was appointed by President Madison one of the commissioners to negotiate peace with Great Britain. He firmly opposed granting the right of navigating the Mississippi River. After five months of negotiation, the Treaty of Ghent was signed, December 24, 1814.— Ed.

tion, yet he has a great deal of fire and vigour in his expression. When he speaks he is full of animation and earnestness; his face brightens, his eye beams with additional lustre, and his whole figure indicates that he is entirely occupied with the subject on which his eloquence is employed. In action, on which Demosthenes laid such peculiar emphasis, and which was so highly esteemed among the ancients, Mr. Clay is neither very graceful nor very imposing. He does not, in the language of Shakespear, "so suit the word to the action, and the action to the word, as not to o'erstep the modesty of nature." In his gesticulation and attitudes, there is sometimes an uniformity and awkwardness that lessen his merit as an orator, and in some measure destroy the impression and effect his eloquence would otherwise produce. Mr. Clay does not seem to have studied rhetoric as a science, or to have paid much attention to those artificial divisions and rhetorical graces and ornaments on which the orators of antiquity so strongly insist. Indeed, oratory as an art is but little studied in this country. Public speakers here trust almost entirely to the efficacy of their own native powers for success in the different fields of eloquence, and search not for the extrinsic embellishments and facilities of art. It is but rarely they unite the Attic and Rhodian manner, and still more rarely do they devote their attention to the acquisition [355] of those accomplishments which were, in the refined ages of Greece and Rome, considered so essential to the completion of an orator. Mr. Clay, however, is an eloquent speaker; and notwithstanding the defects I have mentioned, very seldom fails to please and convince. His mind is so organized that he overcomes the difficulties of abstruse and complicated subjects, apparently without the toil of investigation or the labour

of profound research. It is rich, and active, and rapid, grasping at one glance, connections the most distant, and consequences the most remote, and breaking down the trammels of error and the cobwebs of sophistry. When he rises to speak he always commands attention, and almost always satisfies the mind on which his eloquence is intended to operate. The warmth and fervor of his feelings, and the natural impetuosity of his character, which seem to be common to the Kentuckians, often indeed lead him to the adoption of opinions, which are not, at all times, consistent with the dictates of sound policy. Though ambitious and persevering, his intentions are good and his heart is pure; he is propelled by a love of country, but yet is solicitous of distinction; he wishes to attain the pinnacle of greatness without infringing the liberties, or marring the prosperity of that land of which it seems to be his glory to be a native.

[356] The prominent traits of Mr. Clay's mind are quickness, penetration, and acuteness; a fertile invention, discriminating judgment, and good memory. His attention does not seem to have been much devoted to literary or scientific pursuits, unconnected with his profession; but fertile in resources, and abounding in expedients, he is seldom at a loss, and if he is not at all times able to amplify and embellish, he but rarely fails to do justice to the subject which has called forth his eloquence. On the most complicated questions, his observations made immediately and on the spur of the occasion, are generally such as would be suggested by long and deep reflection. In short, Mr. Clay has been gifted by nature with great intellectual superiority, which will always give him a decided influence in whatever sphere it may be his destiny to revolve.

Mr. Clay's manners are plain and easy. He has nothing in him of that reserve which checks confidence, and which some politicians assume; his views of mankind are enlarged and liberal; and his conduct as a politician and a statesman has been marked with the same enlarged and liberal policy. As Speaker of the House of Representatives, he presides generally with great dignity, and decides on questions of order, sometimes, indeed, with too much precipitation, but almost always correctly. It is but seldom his decisions are disputed, [357] and when they are, they are not often reversed.[118]

"A Statesman," says Mirabeau, "presents to the mind the idea of a vast genius improved by experience, capable of embracing the mass of social interests, and of perceiving how to maintain true harmony among the individuals of which society is composed, and an extent of information which may give substance and union to the different operations of government."

Mr. Pinkney[119] is between fifty and sixty years of age; his form is sufficiently elevated and compact to be graceful, and his countenance, though marked by the lines of dissi-

[118] The House of Representatives, like the House of Commons, is sometimes very disorderly. Heat and cold have the same effect upon the feelings of the members; for both make them quit their seats, and the authority of the speaker often fails to bring them back. It is in vain to call to order; cold has benumbed their fingers, or heat has dissolved their solids, and they can neither think nor act.— FAUX.

[119] William Pinkney had a long diplomatic career. Born in Annapolis, Maryland (1764), his father was a loyalist, but he joined the patriotic side in the Revolutionary War. He studied law with Judge Chase, and was admitted to the bar. In 1796 Washington appointed him commissioner of claims against Great Britain arising under Jay's Treaty of 1794, and on this business he remained in England until 1804. Two years later he was again a commissioner to England to treat regarding aggressions upon American commerce. In 1816 he was appointed minister to Russia. Returning to the United States, he was elected to the senate (1818), but died (1822) before the expiration of his term.— ED.

pation, and rather too heavy, is not unprepossessing or repulsive. His eye is rapid in its motion, and beams with the animation of genius; but his lips are too thick, and his cheeks too fleshy and loose for beauty; there is too a degree of foppery, and sometimes of splendor, manifested in the decoration of his person, which is not perfectly reconcileable to our [358] ideas of mental superiority, and an appearance of voluptuousness about him which cannot surely be a source of pride or of gratification to one whose mind is so capacious and elegant. It is not improbable, however, that this character is assumed merely for the purpose of exciting a higher admiration of his powers, by inducing a belief that, without the labour of study or the toil of investigation, he can attain the object of his wishes and become eminent, without deigning to resort to that painful drudgery by which meaner minds and inferior intellects are enabled to arrive at excellence and distinction. At the first glance, you would imagine Mr. Pinkney was one of those butterflies of fashion, *a dandy*, known by their extravagant eccentricities of dress, and peculiarities of manners; and no one could believe, from his external appearance, that he was, in the least degree, intellectually superior to his fellow men. But Mr. Pinkney is indeed a wonderful man, and one of those beings whom the lover of human nature feels a delight in contemplating. His mind is of the very first order; quick, expanded, fervid, and powerful. The hearer is at a loss which most to admire, the vigour of his judgment, the fertility of his invention, the strength of his memory, or the power of his imagination. Each of these faculties he possesses in an equal degree of perfection, and each is displayed in its full maturity, when the [359] magnitude of the subject on which he descants renders its operation necessary. This

singular union of the rare and precious gifts of nature, has received all the strength which education could afford, and all the polish and splendour which art could bestow. Under the cloak of dissipation and voluptuousness his application has been indefatigable, and his studies unintermitted: the oil of the midnight lamp has been exhausted, and the labyrinths of knowledge have been explored.

Mr. Pinkney is never unprepared, and never off his guard. He encounters his subject with a mind rich in all the gifts of nature, and fraught with all the resources of art and study. He enters the list with his antagonist, armed, like the ancient cavalier, cap-a-pee; and is alike prepared to wield the lance, or to handle the sword, as occasion may require. In cases which embrace all the complications and intricacies of law, where reason seems to be lost in the chaos of technical perplexity, and obscurity and darkness assume the dignified character of science, he displays an extent of research, a range of investigation, a lucidness of reasoning, and a fervor and brilliancy of thought, that excite our wonder, and elicit our admiration. On the driest, most abstract, and uninteresting questions of law, when no mind can anticipate such an occurrence, he occasionally blazes forth in all the enchanting exuberance of a chastened, but rich [360] and vivid imagination, and paints in a manner as classical as it is splendid, and as polished as it is brilliant. In the higher grades of eloquence, where the passions and feelings of our nature are roused to action, or lulled to tranquillity, Mr. Pinkney is still the great magician, whose power is resistless, and whose touch is fascination. His eloquence becomes sublime and impassioned, majestic and overwhelming. In calmer moments, when these passions are

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hushed, and more tempered feelings have assumed the place of agitation and disorder, he weaves around you the fairy circles of fancy, and calls up the golden palaces and magnificent scenes of enchantment. You listen with rapture as he rolls along: his defects vanish, and you are not conscious of any thing but what he pleases to infuse. From his tongue, like that of Nestor, "language more sweet than honey flows;" and the attention is constantly rivetted by the successive operation of the different faculties of the mind. There are no awkward pauses, no hesitation for want of words or of arguments: he moves forward with a pace sometimes majestic, sometimes graceful, but always captivating and elegant. His order is lucid, his reasoning logical, his diction select, magnificent, and appropriate, and his style, flowing, oratorical, and beautiful. The most laboured and finished composition could not be better than that which he seems to utter [361] spontaneously and without effort. His judgment, invention, memory, and imagination, all conspire to furnish him at once with whatever he may require to enforce, embellish, or illustrate his subject. On the dullest topic he is never dry: and no one leaves him without feeling an admiration of his powers, that borders on enthusiasm. His satire is keen, but delicate, and his wit is scintillating and brilliant. His treasure is exhaustless, possessing the most extensive and varied information. He never feels at a loss; and he ornaments and illustrates every subject he touches. *Nihil quod tetigit, non ornavit.* He is never the same; he uses no common place artifice to excite a momentary thrill of admiration. He is not obliged to patch up and embellish a few ordinary thoughts, or set off a few meagre and uninteresting facts. His resources seem to be as unlimited as those of nature; and fresh powers, and new

beauties are exhibited, whenever his eloquence is employed. A singular copiousness and felicity of thought and expression, united to a magnificence of amplification, and a purity and chastity of ornament, give to his eloquence a sort of enchantment which it is difficult to describe.

Mr. Pinkney's mind is in a high degree poetical; it sometimes wantons in the luxuriance of its own creations; but these creations never violate the purity of classical taste and elegance. He [362] loves to paint when there is no occasion to reason; and addresses the imagination and passions, when the judgment has been satisfied and enlightened. I speak of Mr. Pinkney at present as a forensic orator. His career was too short to afford an opportunity of judging of his parliamentary eloquence; and, perhaps, like Curran, he might have failed in a field in which it was anticipated he would excel, or, at least, retain his usual pre-eminence. Mr. Pinkney, I think, bears a stronger resemblance to Burke than to Pitt; but, in some particulars, he unites the excellences of both. He has the fancy and erudition of the former, and the point, rapidity, and elocution of the latter. Compared with his countrymen, he wants the vigour and striking majesty of Clay, the originality and ingenuity of Calhoun; but, as a rhetorician, he surpasses both. In his action, Mr. Pinkney has, unfortunately, acquired a manner, borrowed, no doubt, from some illustrious model, which is eminently uncouth and inelegant. It consists in raising one leg on a bench or chair before him, and in thrusting his right arm in a horizontal line from his side to its full length in front. This action is uniform, and never varies or changes in the most tranquil flow of sentiment, or the grandest burst of impassioned eloquence. His voice, though not naturally good, has been disciplined to modulation by art;

and, if it is not always musical, it is [363] never very harsh or offensive. Such is Mr. Pinkney as an orator; as a diplomatist but little can be said that will add to his reputation. In his official notes there is too much flippancy, and too great diffuseness, for beauty or elegance of composition. It is but seldom that the orator possesses the requisites of the writer; and the fame which is acquired by the tongue sometimes evaporates through the pen. As a writer he is inferior to the present Attorney-General,[120] who unites the powers of both in a high degree, and thus in his own person illustrates the position which he has laid down, as to the universality of genius.

Mr. R. King is a senator from the State of New York, and was formerly the resident minister at the court of St. James's.[121] He is now about sixty years of age, above the middle size, and somewhat inclined to corpulency. His countenance, when serious and thoughtful, possesses a great deal of austerity and rigour; but at other moments it is marked with placidity and benevolence. Among his friends he is facetious and easy; but when with strangers, reserved and distant; apparently indisposed to conversation, and inclined to taciturnity; but when called out, his colloquial powers are of no ordinary character, and his conversation becomes peculiarly instructive, fascinating, and humourous. Mr. King has read and reflected much; and though long in public life, his attention [364] has

[120] William Wirt (1772-1834), one of the ablest lawyers of his time, was appointed attorney-general in 1817, and served until Jackson's accession to the presidency.— Ed.

[121] Rufus King was born in Maine in 1755. Graduating from Harvard, he studied law, and in 1784 was elected to Congress. As a delegate to the Federal constitutional convention, he took a prominent part in framing that instrument. Removing to New York City in 1788, he was, the following year, elected to the United States senate, and for seven years was minister to England (1796-1803).— Ed.

not been exclusively devoted to the political sciences; for his information on other subjects is equally matured and extensive. His resources are numerous and multiplied, and can easily be called into operation. In his parliamentary addresses he always displays a deep and intimate knowledge of the subject under discussion, and never fails to edify and instruct if he ceases to delight. He has read history to become a statesman, and not for the mere gratification it affords. He applies the experience of ages, which the historical muse exhibits, to the general purposes of government, and thus reduces to practice the mass of knowledge with which his mind is fraught and embellished. As a legislator he is, perhaps, inferior to no man in this country. The faculty of close and accurate observation by which he is distinguished has enabled him to remark and treasure up every fact of political importance, that has occurred since the organization of the American government; and the citizen, as well as the stranger, is often surprised at the minuteness of his historical details, and the facility with which they are applied. With the various subjects immediately connected with politics, he has made himself well acquainted; and such is the strength of his memory, and the extent of his information, that the accuracy of his statements is never disputed. Mr. King, however, is somewhat of an [365] enthusiast, and his feelings sometimes propel him to do that which his judgment cannot sanction. When parties existed in this country, he belonged to, and was considered to be the leader of what was denominated the federal phalanx; and he has often, perhaps, been induced, from the influence of party feeling, and the violence of party animosity, to countenance measures that must have wounded his moral sensibilities; and that now, when reason is suffered to dictate,

cannot but be deeply regretted. From a rapid survey of his political and parliamentary career, it would appear that the fury of party has betrayed him into the expression of sentiments, and the support of measures, that were, in their character, revolting to his feelings; but whatever he may have been charged with, his intentions, at least, were pure, and his exertions, as he conceived, calculated for the public good. He was indeed *cried down* by a class of emigrants from the mother country, who have far too great a sway in the political transactions of the United States; and though, unquestionably, an ornament to the nation which has given him birth, his countrymen, averse to him from party considerations, joined in the cry, and he became a victim, perhaps, to the duty he owed, and the love he bore to his country. Prejudice, however, does not always continue, and the American people, with that good sense which forms so prominent a feature of their character, are beginning justly to appreciate those [366] virtues and talents, they once so much decried. Mr. King has a sound and discriminating mind, a memory uncommonly tenacious, and a judgment, vigorous, prompt, and decisive. He either wants imagination, or is unwilling to employ a faculty that he conceives only calculated to flatter and delight. His object is more to convince and persuade, by the force of reason, than to amuse the mind by the fantastic embroidery and gaudy festoonings of fancy. His style of eloquence is plain, but bold and manly; replete with argument, and full of intelligence; neither impetuous nor vehement, but flowing and persuasive. His mind, like that of Fox, is historical; it embraces consequences the most distant with rapidity and ease. Facts form the basis of his reasoning. Without these his analysis is de-

fective, and his combinations and deductions are often incorrect. His logic is not artificial, but natural: he abandons its formal divisions, non-essentials, moods, and figures, to weaker minds, and adheres to the substantials of natural reason. Of Mr. King's moral character I can say nothing from my own personal knowledge, as my acquaintance with him has not been long and intimate enough to enable me to judge correctly. I have not, however, heard any thing alleged against it calculated to lessen his reputation as an honourable statesman, or a virtuous member of society. He is wealthy, and has, no doubt, something of pride and hauteur in his manner, [367] offensive to the spirit of republicanism, and inconsistent with the nature of equality; but, as a father, husband, and friend, I have not yet heard him charged with any dereliction of duty, or any violation of those principles which tend to harmonize society, and to unite man to man by the bonds of affection and virtue. I must now beg permission to despatch the portrait of Mr. King, in order to submit to your inspection an imperfect likeness of another member of the same body. This is not the country to look for the blazonry and trappings of ancestry; merit alone claims and receives distinction; and none but the fool or the simpleton, ever pretends to boast of his ancestry and noble blood, or to offer it as a claim to respect or preferment. The people alone form the tribunal to which every aspirant for fame or honour must submit; and they are too enlightened and too independent to favour insignificance, though surrounded by the splendour of wealth, or to countenance stupidity, though descended from those who were once illustrious and great.

James Barbour is a senator from Virginia, his native

state.[122] He was in his youth a deputy sheriff of the county in which he was born, and received an education which was merely intended to fit him for an ordinary station in life. He felt, however, superior to his condition, and stimulated by that love of fame which often characterizes genius, he devoted himself to study, and became [368] a practitioner of the law. He rose rapidly in his profession, and soon acquired both wealth and reputation. Like most of the barristers of this country, he conceived that to be a lawyer was necessarily to be a politician, and he rushed forward into public life to extend his fame and enlarge his sphere of action. From a member of the house of delegates he was elevated to the gubernatorial chair of Virginia, and received the highest honour his native state could confer. Gratified thus far in the wishes he had formed, he became desirous to enter on a more enlarged theatre, where his talents would have a greater field of action, and his eloquence a wider range and better effect, and he accepted the situation of senator of the United States.

Mr. Barbour commenced his career with a speech against the establishment of the national bank, which was then in agitation. He had come fraught with prejudices against this mammoth institution, and in the fervor of the moment gave vent to those prejudices in a manner certainly very eloquent, but not very judicious. When he had soberly weighed the good and evil with which it might be attended, the peculiar condition of his country, and the

[122] James Barbour (1755-1842) sat in the Virginia house of delegates from 1796 to 1812, when he became governor of Virginia. Elected to the United States senate, he was repeatedly chairman of the committee on foreign relations. President Adams appointed him secretary of war (1825), and three years later minister to England; but, being opposed to the Jackson party, he was immediately recalled upon Jackson's accession.— Ed.

necessity of adopting some scheme by which the difficulties of government should be obviated, and its financial embarrassment relieved, he very candidly confessed the error into which his feelings had betrayed him, and [369] in a speech, conceived and uttered in the very spirit of true eloquence, supported the measure.

Mr. Barbour is, in person, muscular and vigorous, and rather inclined to corpulency. His eyebrows are thick and bushy, which gives to his countenance a little too much the appearance of ferocity, but this is counterbalanced by a peculiar expression in his visage, that conveys a sentiment of mildness and humanity. He seems to be above forty years of age, and is about five feet ten inches high. Of his mind, the prominent characters are brilliancy and fervor. He has more imagination than judgment, and more splendor than solidity. His memory is not very retentive, because it has never been much employed, except to treasure up poetical images, and to preserve the spangles and tinsel of oratory. As an orator, Mr. Barbour has some great defects. His style is too artificial and verbose, and he seems always more solicitous to shine and dazzle than convince or persuade. He labours after splendid images, and strives to fill the ear more with sound than sense. His sentences are sometimes involved and complicated, replete with *sesquipedalia verba*, and too much charged with "guns, trumpets, blunderbuss, and thunder." He has unfortunately laid down to himself a model, which, with reverence be it spoken, is not the best that could have been adopted. Curran has gone a great way to corrupt the taste of the present age. His powers [370] were certainly very extraordinary, but his taste was bad, and by yielding too much to the impulse of a highly poetical imagination, he filled the mind

of his hearer with fine paintings indeed, and left it at last glowing, but vacant, delighted, but unconvinced. Too many of the youths of this country seem to be smitten with the model which he has thus given, and which is certainly calculated to fire an ardent mind, and lead it astray from the principles of correct taste and genuine oratory. Mr. Barbour, however, is frequently not only very fluent but very persuasive, and he often employs his full flowing oratorical style to great advantage in setting off his argument, and in decorating and enforcing his reasoning. From the want of opportunities, his reading, like that of most of the politicians of this country, has been confined, and his range of thought, from the absence of that knowledge which books afford, is necessarily limited. He has, indeed, derived advantages from an association with men of literary and scientific attainments, but he has still much to acquire to render him eminent as a statesman. The contributions, which, from this circumstance, he is compelled to levy on his own unaided native resources, have, however, tended to sharpen his intellectual powers, and to give them vivacity and quickness. Mr. Barbour seldom thinks deeply, but he is always rapid; and though his observations are sometimes trite and ordinary, there is almost always something [371] new and gratifying in the manner in which they are uttered. His mind does not appear organized for long continued investigation, and nature has formed him more for a poet than a mathematician. He is rather too anxious to be thought a great orator, and this over-ruling propensity is manifested even in common conversation; when, instead of ease, simplicity, and conciseness, he discovers the formal elocution of the public speaker, on the most unimportant and incidental subjects. In private circles, Mr. Barbour is always very

pleasant, and exhibits a politeness, which, flowing from the heart rather than the head, delights all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance, and renders him an acceptable guest, and an agreeable companion.

There is a native openness and benevolence in his character, which excite the love of all who know him, and which powerfully attract the stranger as well as the friend. He seems superior to the grovelling intrigues of party, and always expresses his feelings, in the bold and lofty language of conscious independence and freedom. There is a marked difference between this gentleman and his brother, Mr. Philip P. Barbour,[123] a member of the House of Representatives, in the respective faculties of their mind; the latter is more logical, and also more laborious and indefatigable. He seems to have a peculiar tact for those constitutional and legal questions which [372] are involved and obscure, and possesses that clearness and vigor of mind necessary to unfold what is complicated, and illuminate what is dark. He casts on such subjects so powerful a light, that we wonder we should ever have doubted, and behold at once the truth, stripped of all its obscurity. The former seldom attempts an analysis of such questions. He reasons, but his reasoning is not so much that of a mathematician, as of an advocate who labours to surprise by his novelty, and to fascinate by the ingenuity of his deductions, and the ease and beauty of his elocution. He has more genius than his brother, but less judgment; more refinement and elegance, but less vigor and energy. It appears to me that there is a vast deal of what may be denominated *law mind* in this coun-

[123] Philip Pendleton Barbour (1783-1841), was elected to Congress in 1814, becoming speaker of the House in 1821. President Jackson appointed him a circuit court judge, and in 1836 he was elevated to the supreme bench.— Ed.

try, which will ultimately reach a point of excellence that must astonish the world. The fondness for the profession of the law, at present, is wonderful; almost every man, whatever be his means of support, or grade in society, if he have children, endeavours to make one of them, at least, a disciple of Coke, or a "fomentor of village vexation," and you cannot enter a court-house, without being astonished at the number of young men, who are either studying or practising the law. This, however, is not a matter of surprise, when we consider the facility with which this profession leads to preferment and distinction, and the ease with which it seems to be acquired. Amidst such [373] a mass of *law mind*, therefore, as exists here, excellence must hereafter be attained, if it has not now reached its climax; and the Cokes, the Mansfields, and Ellenboroughs of England are, or will soon be, equalled in this country. The future destinies of this republic cannot be fully anticipated; the march of mind is progressive and resistless, and intellectual pre-eminence must be attained where so many inducements are offered to effect, and so few impediments exist to prevent it. Mind is often regulated by the circumstance in which it is placed, and fashioned by the objects by which it is surrounded. This country is, therefore, peculiarly favorable for the expansion and development of the intellectual powers. Physical, as well as moral causes, operate to this end. The eye of an American is perpetually presented with an outline of wonderful magnificence and grandeur; every work of nature is here on a vast and expansive scale; the mountains, and lakes, and rivers, and forests, appear in a wild sublimity of grandeur, which renders the mountains, lakes, and rivers of Europe, mere pigmies in comparison. The political and religious freedom, too, which

is here experienced, removes all shackles, and gives an elasticity, a loftiness, and an impetus to the mind that cannot but propel it to greatness. Thus operated upon by moral and physical causes, what must be the ultimate destiny of the people of this country, and the range and expansion of intellect which they [374] will possess? Devoted as they are for the most part to studies and professions, which have a tendency to enlarge and liberalize the mind, and influenced by the causes I have mentioned, it would be worse than stupidity to suppose they could long remain an inferior people, or possibly avoid reaching that point of elevation of which mankind are capable. The *law mind* of this country has now attained a high degree of splendor, and is in rapid progress to still greater excellence. There are many men, in this country, though so much calumniated by British writers, who would shed a lustre on the bench of that nation, and not suffer by a comparison with some of the brightest luminaries of English jurisprudence.

Before I quit this body of American worthies, I must introduce to your acquaintance, as succinctly as possible, another member of the senate, who, though not so conspicuous as the two former, in the walks of public life, is not inferior to any in this country, in all that constitutes and dignifies the patriot and the statesman. Mr. Roberts is from Pennsylvania.[124] He is a plain farmer, and was, once, I understand, a mechanic. Though he cannot boast of a liberal education, yet nature has given him a mind, which, with early improvement, would have made him prominent in any sphere in life. It is vigorous and powerful in no ordinary degree, and the sophistry of art,

[124] Jonathan Roberts (1771-1854) first represented his district in Pennsylvania in the Twelfth Congress. He was elected to the senate in 1814, serving until 1821.— Ed.

and the dexterity of learning, are often foiled and defeated [375] by the unaided and spontaneous efforts of his native good sense. But he has that which is of more sterling advantage, both to himself and his country,— immoveable political and moral integrity. It is gratifying, in this age of corruption and voluptuousness, to contemplate men like Aristides, Fabricius, and Cato. They exhibit to us the true dignity of man, and hold out examples that we must feel delighted to imitate. They show us to what pitch of excellence man is capable of attaining, and rescue the exalted condition of human nature from that odium and disgrace which profligacy and corruption have heaped upon it. No spectacle can be more sublime or more elevating than he, who, in the hour of public danger and trial, and amidst the allurements and fascinations of vice, stands like a rock in the ocean, placid and immoveable, and endures the dangers that surround, and braves the storms and tempests that beat upon him, with undeviating firmness, for the safety of his country and the glory of his God! The mind rests upon such a character as the eye upon a spot of fertility, amidst deserts of sand, and we rise from the blood-stained page of history, and the corruptions of the living world, with a heart filled with love, admiration, and reverence, by the contemplation of the few who have shed an imperishable lustre on the exalted character of man. This description is not exaggerated; it is drawn from nature and truth, and [376] fancy has nothing to do with the picture. But I must now hasten to finish my portraits of American characters.

Mr. Bagot,[125] the English minister to this government,

[125] Now Sir Charles Bagot.— FAUX.

Comment by Ed. Sir Charles Bagot (1781-1843), a well-known British diplomat and ambassador to France, Russia, and Holland, and finally governor-general of Canada.

appears to be about thirty-five years of age. He is tall, elegant, and rather graceful in his person, with a countenance open and ingenuous, an English complexion, and eyes mild though dark. He has ingratiated himself with the Americans, by the real or affected simplicity of his manners, and by assimilating himself to their usages and customs. He has thrown aside the reserve and hauteur of the English character, as not at all suited to the meridian of this country, and attends to all with equal courtesy and politeness. I can say nothing of the powers of his mind, but they do not appear to be more than ordinary. It has always seemed to me very strange policy on the part of the British cabinet, to appoint ministers to this country of inferior capacity and inconsiderable reputation, while the Americans send to our court only their most prominent and leading men, who have distinguished themselves by their ability and their eloquence.

The French minister, M. Hyde de Neuville,[126] is a "fat, portly gentleman," with a broad chest, big head, and short neck, which he seems almost incapable of turning *ad libitum*. He is full of [377] Bourbon importance and French vivacity; has petits soupers every Saturday evening during the winter, and spends his summer at the springs, or his country residence, in extolling the virtues of his beloved Louis *le desiré*. I do not think that M. Neuville, though an amiable, and, I understand, a benevolent man, has that kind of talent which would qualify him for the station he holds, or that, in the event of any difficulty arising between this country and France, he could counteract the intrigues of diplomatic ingenuity, or benefit his nation, by inducing the American cabinet, though I believe he is

[126] Hyde de Neuville (1776-1857), a royalist during the republic and the empire, was minister of France to the United States (1816-21).— Ed.

highly esteemed, to adopt any measure not manifestly advantageous to the United States. He has been many years a resident of this country, and was driven from France by the persecutions of Buonaparte. He is said to have evinced for his exiled countrymen much feeling and interest, and to have given them, while strangers and unknown in a foreign land, all the aid he could afford. His acts of benevolence certainly redound to the credit of his heart, and I should be sorry to say any thing that would disparage the qualities of his head. He is too much occupied with his own, or other people's concerns, to attend to the little or the complicated intrigues of courts, and though he resides here as a representative, yet he now represents a cypher.

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[378] 4*th.*— To tea with J. C. Wright, Esq., to meet a young man, Mr. Dawson, who is giving up a school here to go as "Teacher to the Cherokee nation of Indians." Much enthusiasm takes him there; little will be needed to bring him back again. Since my return, Washington has been visited by some very distant and interesting tribes of Indians, with the following account of whom I have been favoured by a friend residing there.

Some account of the Indians who visited all the Chief Cities in the Eastern States, and made a long stay in Washington in the winter of 1821.

These Indians were the chiefs and half-chiefs of tribes from the most western part of this continent with which we are at all acquainted, and came under the guid-

ance of Major O'Fallan[127] from the Counsel Bluffs.[128] All of them were men of large stature, very muscular, having fine open countenances, with the real noble Roman nose, dignified in their manners, and peaceful and quiet in their habits. There was no instance of drunkenness among them during their stay here. The circumstances which led to their visit were singular. A missionary, who had been amongst them a few years back, on renewing his visit recently, found an old chief, with whom he was acquainted, degraded from his rank, and another appointed in his place. This led to inquiries after the cause, which proved to be that this chief having, during a considerable [379] absence from his tribe, visited some of the cities of the whites, carried back such a report of their houses, ships, numbers, wealth, and power, that they disbelieved his account, and degraded him as a man unworthy of being longer their chief. They inquired of their missionaries, who confirmed the statement, and they met in council with other tribes, and resolved that a deputation should, in company with the representative of the great father, "see if things were so," and if they were, the chief should be reinstated. They have returned, saying the "half was not told them." Red Jacket[129] (of whom you

[127] This was Benjamin O'Fallon, whose mother was a sister of George Rogers Clark, his father being Dr. James O'Fallon, a Revolutionary officer and prominent among Kentucky pioneers.— Ed.

[128] For the early history of Council Bluffs, see Brackenridge's *Journal*, volume vi of our series, note 28.— Ed.

[129] Red Jacket, or Sagoyewatha (1751-1830), was a Seneca chief, and after the death of Brant the most prominent Indian among the Six Nations. He fought on the American side in the War of 1812-15, and refused to be drawn into Tecumseh's conspiracy. He is best known for his eloquent speech against ratifying the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784), which ceded western New York to the whites. In later life he was a helpless drunkard.— Ed.

have heard) used to say, that "the great spirit was too great a being to overlook red men; that he listened to the talk of red men as well as to the talk of white men;" but these natives of the forest thought the great spirit favoured white men more than red. An anecdote is related of one of the chiefs (a Pawnee) which is a well authenticated fact, and recorded by Dr. Morse in his account of visits to the western regions.[130] The tribe of the Pawnees had taken a woman prisoner from a neighbouring tribe with whom they were at war, and, as was their custom, they made every preparation to offer her a sacrifice to the great spirit. Every thing was prepared, the wood, the green withes, and the fire, and the victim, when this chief suddenly flew and seized her, carried her under his arm to a neighbouring thicket, where [380] he had prepared horses for her and himself, and riding away at speed, he, after three days' travelling through the woods, returned her in safety to her tribe and friends. This event was considered by the Pawnee tribe as an interference of the great spirit in her favour, and on the return of the chief no questions were asked him on that subject, nor has a woman been offered a sacrifice by that tribe since. As a compliment justly due to his gallant exploit, a number of ladies in this city had a medal made, and presented to him in due form, in the presence of all the Indians; on one side of which

[130] Jedidiah Morse was born in Woodstock, Connecticut (1761). Being graduated from Yale College he studied for the ministry, and in 1785 was licensed to preach. Four years later he became pastor of a Congregational church in Charleston, remaining there until 1820, when he removed to New Haven, and there preached until his death in 1826. He was interested in civilizing and christianizing the Indians. In 1820 the secretary of war deputed him to visit the western tribes and suggest measures for their improvement. The results of his investigation were published in his *Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822). He also published some text-books on geography, which were used extensively, and gained for him the title of "Father of American geography."— Ed.

was represented the preparation for the sacrifice, and on the reverse the chief running off with a woman under his arm, and two horses stationed at a short distance, surmounted by this inscription, "To the bravest of the Braves," (the Pawnees are also called the Braves). These Indians excited so much interest from their dignified personal appearance, and from their peaceful manner, that they received a great number of rich presents, sufficient to fill six large boxes in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; these were forwarded before they left us. Their portraits, which are gone with them, were taken in oil by Mr. King in their native costume, buffalo skins, with the hair inside, turned back at the neck and breast, which looked very handsome, like fur collars. Eight, however, the chiefs and [381] the squaw, Mr. King copied and keeps himself.[131] He received 400 dollars from *Uncle Sam* for it. There was a notice in the papers that the Indians would dance and display their feats in front of the President's house on a certain day, which they did to at least 6,000 persons. They shewed their manner of sitting in council, their dances, their war whoop, with the noises, gesticulations, &c. of the centinels on the sight of an approaching enemy. They were in a state of perfect nudity, except a piece of red flannel round the waist and passing between the legs. They afterwards performed at the house of his Excellency M. Hyde de Neuville. They were painted horribly, and exhibited the operation of scalping and tomahawking in fine style.

[131] These portraits of the Pawnee chiefs were hung in the Indian gallery in the department of war, being later destroyed by fire. Three of them are reproduced in color in McKenney's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (Philadelphia, 1855), i, pp. iii, 33, 37, 143. The artist, Charles B. King (1786-1862), was a native of Rhode Island. For forty years his studio in Washington was frequented by the prominent men of the day.— Ed.

The Otta half-chief [132] and his squaw have taken tea with and frequently visited us. She was a very good natured, mild woman, and he shewed great readiness in acquiring our language, being inquisitive, retaining any thing that he was once informed, and imitating admirably the tones of every word. He spent the evening with us before they finally left the city. I took himself and squaw into Dr. Barber's room, and opened gently the skeleton case. He looked slyly in, and the wife wanted to look, but he put himself in an attitude to represent a dead person, and said, "*no good, no good.*" She still wanted to see, but he would [382] not let her. Three others came afterwards wanting to see it, who, when I opened it, raised themselves up in a dignified manner and said, "*very good,*" one of them taking hold of the hand said, "how you do."[133] The Otta half-chief and squaw afterwards saw it together and were very well pleased. Our children were all full of play with them, and the squaw nursed the younger ones. Margaret wanted to go with them. The calumet[134] of peace (the tomahawk pipe and their own sumach tobacco) frequently went round, and they expressed a wish to see us again.

I have recorded much of the vocabulary of these Indians, and would transcribe it, but have not room. They count by tens as we do, for instance, *noah*, two; *taurny*, three; *crabraugh*, ten; *crabraugh no ah*, twenty; *crabraugh taurny*, thirty, &c. They hold polygamy as honourable; one wife, *no good*; three, *good*; four, *very good*. In their talks with the residents they shew no wish to adopt our habits.

[132] For the Oto Indians, see Bradbury's *Travels*, volume v of our series, note 42.— Ed.

[133] I made them understand the man was hung for murder, which seemed to please them.— Faux.

[134] Concerning the calumet of peace, consult Long's *Voyages*, in our volume ii, note 43.— Ed.

5th.— To dine with Dr. Dawes at his poor, worn out farm, of which he is already tired. The Doctor seems one of the best Englishmen I have met in America.

Sunday, 6th.— Dr. Rice[135] preaching this day in Congress-hall before the senate, and representatives, [383] called the assembly, polite, just, respected, respectable, and deemed it unnecessary to mention sin and human depravity.

American husbands abound in outward politeness and respect to their wives; and gentlemen, in general, are excessively attentive to the fair sex, rising and leaving their seats, even at church, to accommodate the late coming ladies. I gave much offence, on a recent occasion, by my want of gallantry in this particular. The meanest white woman is here addressed by the title of *Madam.*

It may also be mentioned, as a proof of superior civilization and refinement in manners, that a stranger cannot, in this country, enter and join a party or social circle, without being publicly presented by name, and exchanging names and hearty shakes of the hand with all present. Should he, however, happen to enter and take his seat without submitting to this indispensable ceremony, he must remain dumb and unnoticed, as an intruder, or as a person whose character renders him unfit for introduction, and for the acquaintance of any. But, on the other hand, when properly presented, he is instantly at home; and ever after, at any distance of time and place, acknowl-

[135] This was probably Luther Rice, a Baptist preacher of much power. Born in Massachusetts (1783), he was ordained as a Congregational minister, and sailed as a missionary to India (1812). There he united with the Baptists, and returning to America, travelled through the eastern states to interest that denomination in foreign missions. Mainly through his efforts, Columbian University was established at Washington, and he was for several years its agent and treasurer.— ED.

edged as entitled to the goodwill and friendship of all who thus met him. Friendships are thus formed and propagated, and the boundaries of society in the new world extended. It would hence be impracticable for me to be half an hour, as has happened to me in England, [384] unknowingly present with a person of distinction; and many unpleasant mistakes and misunderstandings are thus obviated.

8th.— I heard Mr. Speaker Clay deliver a splendid speech of four hours long on the Missouri slave-question. His voice fills the house; his action is good and generally graceful.

I met this evening Mr. Smith, a young gentleman from Lincolnshire, the fellow-traveller of Mr. Parr, who walked through the west, and admired all! He is not determined on continuing here; he has a good farm in England. He and Mr. Parr have been introduced by a member of Congress to the President, who sat half an hour familiarly talking with them, in a plain, domestic, business-like manner.

Sunday, 13th.— From the Speaker's chair in Congress-hall, I heard the young, learned, and reverend professor Everett, of Cambridge University, (aged 29) preach most eloquently to the President and legislature of this great empire.[136] His voice, bewitchingly melodious, yet manly, filled the house, and made every word tell, and every ear hear. "*Time is short,*" was the subject. His discourse was full of high praise of this land, it being, he said, (in my own language) "the only resting place for liberty, who, when driven hence, must ascend in her pure, white robes to heaven. No more new continents will be discovered

[136] Edward Everett, now in his twenty-eighth year, was professor of Greek at Harvard (1819-24).— Ed.

for her reception, and therefore let this nation wisely [385] keep her asylum here." He then spoke very warmly against kings, lords, and priests, and what he called the toleration of man and his rights. "In England they tolerate liberty; and what is liberty there? A shadow! But here, a substance! There her existence is only nominal. She is mocked by her very name." Independent of its moral instruction, this sermon was a fine specimen of oratory, and greatly interested the members of both houses, who very cordially shook the preacher by the hand. Though not forgetting slavery in his discourse, the professor seemed too partial to it.

This gentleman had just returned from his tour through Europe, where he visited Sir Walter Scott, and other distinguished literati, and preached in London.

I met Mr. Lowndes, the Howard of America, at Mr. Elliott's. He says, that "Harmony presents much moral philosophy in practice. Flesh and blood had hard work at first, but now they have but few desires to gratify. Nature seems under the hatches, and they have little to wish, want, or fear. But theirs is a stagnant life."

14*th*.— Read Mr. John Wright's pamphlet on Slavery, in which he uses my name in reference to my negro letter, and shows very clearly the evil effects of slavery on the character of this country, and proves the unalterable nature of the black man's right to liberty, and its benefits.

[386] Mr. Rufus King, a member for New York, a gentlemanly English-like speaker, confines himself to business, and to the grand fundamental principles of every political question, and the consequences likely to result from extending slavery over the continent. "In time," says he, "you will enable the blacks to enslave the whites.

Why, therefore, should we of the free, be compelled to suffer with you of the slave states?"

18*th*.— I supped with Dr. Alison,[137] Chaplain to Congress, a gentleman possessing every variety of knowledge. He is the friend and correspondent of the Ex-presidents Jefferson and Adams, and of the present President, and is known all over the country by his virtues. This gentleman was visited by the black Baron de Vasey, and his friend, from St. Domingo, who supped with him. On their quitting the room, the doctor's black servant set up a laugh, which might be heard by the baron, and all, far and near. "What's the matter, Sam?" said the doctor. "Why, two niggers sat and took tea with my massa, at the same table!!" In Virginia, the doctor complained of his fears of being murdered by the negroes, one hundred of whom were owned by his hostess. She cried and said, "she hoped the Lord would protect her." "Oh, no! you must not look to the Lord for it; it is not there." She said she would free them, if she could find any body to support them. Freed slaves must quit the states, or be sold by it for slaves again! [387] Colonel Taylor has a black uncle, a slave, for his body guard, and most owners are related to their black cattle. A gentleman of Washington, too kind-hearted to whip his house-negroes himself, leaves it to his wife, a fashionable, beautiful female, holding, and going to levees, yet able to cow-hide her negroes, whose screams, under the lash, scare Mrs. Little and family. A cow-hide is no uncommon appendage of ladies here!

Squire Simpson, an old emigrant from England, whom I have before mentioned as living near this city, once acted

[137] Burgess Allison (1753-1827) studied theology at Brown University, and was pastor of a church at Bordentown, New Jersey, his birthplace. In 1816 he was elected chaplain of the house of representatives, and later became chaplain at the navy yard, remaining there until his death.— Ed.

as a magistrate. Two parties came before him for justice, but neither of them seemed disposed to submit to his worship's decision. At last, the most choleric of the two thus addressed Mr. Simpson: "'Well! I don't see, I guess, that we can settle it fairly. So here's at you. I'll fight you, Squire!" Both then went out, magistrate and man, and decided the affair by battle. Simpson was victor.

24th.— Revisited Dr. Dawes, who is full of improving his farm by a summer fallow, and turning it into grass without a crop. He has paid only half the cash for his farm of 500 acres, because the title cannot be completed. Any one, says ex-squire Simpson, would take it off his hands. The doctor deems, as does Sir H. Davy, that plaster of Paris is the natural food of plants; and it is found, more or less, in almost all soils, particularly in England, [388] where manuring with plaster is found to have but little effect, but in this country vice versâ.

Visited Mr. Plant, who holds 400 acres, all cleared and enclosed long ago, and exhausted too, at 100 dollars a year rent, offered for sale at fifteen dollars an acre, poor but useful, light, sandy loam, shining bright with silvery mica. He manages this estate without a capital, by the labour of himself, one slave and a boy; he hires none. He has sold Bradford's Rest, a large estate, costing seven dollars, for 20 dollars per acre; well sold!

26th.— I rode this day to the bench of his worship, Squire Arden, with Doctor Dawes, who was served with a warrant for a small debt for goods. I carried the Doctor's diploma, to prove him a physician, authorized to write prescriptions. The plaintiff is a neighbour of the Doctor's, who had prescribed for his family, and therefore pleaded a set off. The plaintiff then swore he would prove that the Doctor never was sent for nor came! The

Doctor considers almost all here as unprincipled and conspiring against his cash. Quitting the diploma for the plough, he gave up a practice of 400 or 500 pounds a year, at Wisbeach, in England, where he was highly esteemed. His humanity here to poor exiles, distinguishes him as a patriot and a philanthropist, and entitles him to the applause and goodwill of all mankind. In September last, poor John Steed, the English Quaker, [389] was fed, housed, physicked, and restored to health, by this benevolent man. Steed was returning to England; but how to return without money? There was money for him! My warm-hearted friend, *the watchman*, a dear friend of the Rev. I. Leathes, brother-in-law of the late Bishop of Bristol, put into Steed's empty hands a purse, amply sufficient for his land and sea expenses. This was noble! It is well to praise man for his humanity to a suffering brother, but better to ascribe all the glory to his Maker, who gives all, and blesses him with a generous heart, and who has promised that "He who deviseth liberal things, by liberal things shall he stand."

March 11th.— I revisited the astronomical, mathematical, and philosophical Mr. W. Elliott, dining on vegetables only. He states that it is impossible for a sensible, honest Englishman to prefer this country to his own; and in knowing that he has quitted England for ever, he experiences a feeling indescribably painful. To return no more is a word next to death. Although he would not, at present, desire to live in England, yet he would not advise any to quit who can live in it. The soil here is unfit for man, and for an Englishman particularly. Both mind and body barbarize and degenerate. He feels, at first, sanguine, but soon after he begins to judge and compare, and finds that though the government allured him here, yet that all is not gold that glitters. He becomes [390] weak

and emaciated, and drifts into the habits of the country, where he is no longer the man he thought himself at first. The labouring poor here are far behind, and more miserable than the poor, bold peasantry of England. No man needs labour here long, if he would work and not drink excessively; but he drinks and is undone.

Sunday, 12*th*.— Met J. C. Wright, Esq. who has consumed, in segars, for his own use, since he began smoking, twenty years since, 700 barrels of flour, at the present price. One hundred and fifty dollars annually is the cost of his smoking.

14*th*.— The Hon. T. Law brought, it is said, half a million sterling with him to this country, but has lost two-thirds of it. He married the niece of General Washington, the most beautiful lady in Virginia; and, at her uncle's request, Mr. Law settled on her, in case they parted, 15,000 dollars a year. The event, which seemed thus to be anticipated, soon after occurred; for Mr. Law visiting England soon after his marriage and leaving his wife in America, she, during his absence, eloped with a young dashing officer in the army. Mr. Law returned only to part with one of the most accomplished ladies in the land. She still lives in high style, and her house is the resort of the most fashionable parties.[138]

By Mr. Sutton, an English gentleman from Cheshire,

[138] Thomas Law, sixth son of the Right Reverend Edmund Law, D.D., lord bishop of Carlisle, was born at Cambridge, England, October 23, 1756. In 1794, after acquiring some wealth in India, he came to America. Within a year he met Elizabeth Parke Custis, granddaughter of Martha Washington, whom he married (March 21, 1796). In 1802 Law went abroad, and returned in April, 1804. In the following August a legal separation was secured. Law denied Faux's hint of impropriety of conduct on the part of his wife in a signed article, "A Reply to Certain Insinuations," published in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 58. He attributed the unfortunate occurrence to "a disagreement in disposition." For outline of Law's life, and of his unhappy marriage, see Allen Cullings Clark, *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City* (Washington, 1901), pp. 236-244; 285-290.— Ed.

I was this day introduced to an hour's conversation with Mr. John Law, a lawyer of this [391] city, son of Mr. Thomas Law, above mentioned. This gentleman occupies a mean office, but seems very sprightly and acute, and though a plain republican, has much of the blood of the Laws in him. He states that he is in expectation of receiving 80,000*l.* from Sir Wm. T——, for purchasing land in the wilds of the west, which is to increase in value greatly in twenty years. For the same purpose, he also wishes to get 150,000*l.* from English capitalists, who never mean to emigrate, but who only wish to invest money in western lands. There are several millions of acres, some of which, military lands in Illinois, are selling at 37 and 50 cents an acre. Mr. Law proposes to be the agent, and live on the spot, to settle poor emigrants from England on it, by finding them implements and money for commencing, which is to be repaid in produce. They are to live seven years rent free. He would make it his business to interest emigrant societies in favor of this speculation, by which the posterity of such capitalists are to benefit greatly. Mr. Law is to receive only one quarter of the cash for his own trouble, that is, *only* about 37,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* out of the 150,000*l.*

Birkbeck (he says) must be rich in ten years; which ten years of life he admits a man must sacrifice before he can arrive at *comforts*. Ohio, he states, has proved what time can do for a wilderness; and I say, that time has proved that those [392] enriching improvements made by hands, and not by time, can be bought any where for less than they cost in that State, or almost in any other, Kentucky perhaps excepted.

A reflection or two on litigation! — The Judges here have not legal knowledge enough for their station; and of

course not weight of character or dignity sufficient to fill it well. Counsellor Jones and Key, of "*star-spangled banner*" fame, influence, and carry their honours almost as they please.[139] The bar is greater than the bench!

Litigation frequently arises here from the imaginary independence which one man has, or fancies he has of others, to show which, on the least slip, a suit is the certain result. It is bad for the people that law is cheap, as it keeps them constantly in strife with their neighbours, and annihilates that sociability of feeling which so strongly characterizes the English. From the constant litigation amongst the people of this country arise that antisocial apathy, and want of those kindly feelings of the heart, which shew themselves on all occasions, in the conduct and character of the people of the old country. There were more suits for debt in Washington county court, in a late term, (seventeen hundred), than, perhaps, in all England! Further comments are left to the reader.

Judge Parsons, while only an advocate, completely upset the evidence against a prisoner who employed him, and that in the following manner. [393] The witnesses against the prisoner were all sailors. The advocate disguised himself as a sailor, and offered to bet them twenty dollars that the accused would not be hanged. They readily accepted the bet, and when they came, over anxious to give evidence and convict the prisoner at the bar, the learned counsel confounded them with their bet, the court spurned their evidence, and the prisoner, though guilty, escaped by this learned stratagem. At another time, in an important case of law, where several parties were interested, he was requested to plead, he said, "No!

[139] Francis Scott Key (1779-1843), author of our national hymn, was for many years attorney of the District of Columbia.— Ed.

I cannot see my way clear." They then offered him 1,000 dollars for his neutrality, which he took. The other side then came. "No," said he, as before. "Well then," said they, "if you will not plead for us, we will give you 1,000 dollars not to be against us;" which sum he took, and left other advocates to talk.

Edward C——, late in the service of Joseph Vipan, Esq. of Sutton, is here elevated from the smock frock and stable, to the dress and society of a merchant in this city. So great is the change and so mighty the tyranny of custom, that what were his duties last year, would now be a disgrace to him. Another would-be gentleman, in the same store, was requested to assist his employer, a polished Englishman, in rolling a barrel of dried fish out of the cellar into a cart only. "Oh! no, that is *nigger's* work," said he; and then left a good situation within two hours after [394] he came to it. Such are the blessed effects of slavery!

15*th.*— Met Mr. Cooper, an English gentleman, at Washington, who has grown comfortable rich, and has recently bought about 300 acres of land, near this city, so exhausted, that no produce can be had from it for years to come. The system pursued here, if carried into the old country, would soon lay it waste, more effectually than either fire or sword. It is more difficult to raise a hundred dollars here than a hundred pounds in England. Individuals, who are rich in land, are generally without cash, and have their personalty seized, and sold for small debts, of a few dollars only.

16*th.*— All kinds of fruit and vegetables (potatoes excepted) are now remarkably scarce, and enormously dear, insomuch that they are not seen, during the winter and

spring, except on the tables of the rich. In summer they cost as much or more than butcher's meat; yet thousands of acres, all round the city, close to water and manure, are to be had by any body free of rent! In summer the potatoes were one dollar fifty cents per bushel; now, eastern potatoes sell for 50 to 75 cents, and nothing but potatoes come on the tables of the bulk of the people. What is the cause? "Why," says one, "the gardeners get rich and ride in their single horse chaise, because the business is so profitable. They have no competition. [395] Whatever they send to market is sold only at their own price. It is their will to have 150 per cent. above the value of an article. Rather than undersell, they would carry home their vegetables for the cattle and pigs!" So that the will of the gardener governs the price, although the means of opposition are open to all! The poor farmer comes to market with his flour, but *his* will is to take just what is offered him. He is not in the gardener's secret of insisting and willing to have ten dollars a barrel for flour, when worth only four dollars and a half. But what is the real cause of the high price of vegetables in this soil and climate of Washington? Why, no body gardens; not even the rich; because they can buy cheaper than they can raise them; and it is found that none but the poor, humble man, who has no capital, will attempt it, because others can employ capital more profitably than in gardening. It is therefore an undoubted fact, that the soil and climate do not admit of vegetables being raised, at a much lower price than that at which they are actually sold. In summer, continual watering and shading are absolutely necessary, and the soil is poor into the bargain; insomuch that the seed rises so weak, that the sun would burn up the

plants instantly, without great attention to shade and watering, and if this were not so, myriads of grasshoppers would eat all in spite of any measures for their preservation.

[396] *Winter Prices of Garden-stuff*

Winter greens, lightly put in, one quarter dollar per peck.

Spinach, the same.

Cabbages, of about four oz. weight, yellow and bad, having been buried from the frost, four cents each.

Potatoes, seventy-five cents a bushel.

Carrots, bad and scabby, 9*d*. sterling, to one quarter dollar per peck.

23rd.— Commodore Stephen Decatur[140] fell this day in a duel, having killed five men in the same way himself. He swore shamefully at the doctors while dying, because they could not extract the fatal ball from his bowels. He is called by the National Intelligencer, "One of the bright stars of Columbia, set for ever!" And the country is summoned to mourn for him. The president and the heads of departments, with military and naval officers and citizens, walked in procession at his funeral. The laws of heaven and earth, on this subject, are here quite insulted, by common consent. A lady of this district, hearing that her husband was gone to fight a duel, fifty miles off, sent an express, charging that he should be brought home a corpse rather than disgraced. It is a rule here always to take skilful aim, and if one party chooses to reserve his fire, he may go up and shoot the other, if he does not beg for his life. [397] A gentleman

[140] Commodore Decatur was killed in a duel with Commodore James Barron, March 23, 1820, near Bladensburg, Maryland.— Ed.

once would not beg it, but the other said, "If your life is not worth asking for, it is not worth taking!" And so fired in the air.

A sinecure, or something in the nature of one, is held by Joseph Paulding, Esq. of Washington.[141] The holder of this situation is enjoined to write in defence of the American character and government, and at the same time to vilify the British. Mr. Colvin, late editor of the National Register, in a critique on Lancaster's lectures, says, "that we (meaning America) are more virtuous than the people of other nations, I cannot believe. It is sufficient that we are equal, not worse." That there is no great superiority of moral worth on the part of America, the following anecdote will prove. A gentleman seduced the sister of his own wife, and then, to hide her disgrace, disguised his wife in the uniform of a lieutenant of the United States' navy, and married the young woman to her. The lieutenant of course went to sea immediately, and, poor man! was never heard of more. The nuptials were celebrated by candle-light, and all the gay company, except the priest, were parties to this ingenious trick!

24th.— Flour now is only four dollars and a half a barrel, five bushels to a barrel. After hauling, grinding, and the cost of the empty barrel, are deducted, it is seen that

[141] James Kirke Paulding, born in Dutchess County, New York, drifted to New York City at the age of nineteen (1798), and became acquainted with Washington Irving, publishing with him, during the year of 1807, the satirical periodical *Salmagundi*. A few years later he published *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*. In 1814 he entered the lists for the defense of America in the "War of the Reviewers," by writing a pamphlet, *The United States and England*, in reply to a review in the *Quarterly Review* of Charles Ingersoll's *Inchiquin's Letters*. The sinecure referred to by Faux was secretary of the board of navy commissioners, Madison having appointed him to that position in 1816. He continued his literary work throughout life, also his interest in naval affairs, entering Van Buren's cabinet as secretary of the navy.— ED.

the farmer only receives two dollars fifty cents, for five bushels of fine wheat. Under such circumstances, where is profit?

[398] *Sunday, 26th.*— I left this city and old friends, to return, perhaps, no more. At Baltimore, on my way to Philadelphia, I met Joseph Lancaster, teaching a few small children.

28th.— Again at Philadelphia, where British and French goods are selling at 200 per cent. under cost. So great is the distress for money, that the regular merchants are sending their stock to auction. I visited Mr. Potter, an English merchant, who has been established here ever since the peace of 1786. He is now rich, but loves England still. He was intimately known to the Duke of Kent. He says that corruption is rising into an English sense, even here; and adding the state and general taxes together, they make a sum little short of English taxation.

29th.— Six hundred prisoners are this day in a state of mutiny, endeavouring to escape by violence from the Philadelphia state prison. One is shot, and three or four are wounded. The mail robbers now in custody killed the driver of the mail, but they have restored all the money, and pray that they may not be hanged.

31st.— I parted with my old friend C., who promised to meet me again at Baltimore, in June. I reached Newcastle, Delaware State, and visited its old Golgotha, on a bluff, near the river Delaware, which washes the feet of the dead, exposes a great part of the coffin, and bleaches the skulls and bones of men. Numbers of horses tread on the [399] graves and break in the coffins, for here is nothing to protect these bones from insult.

I saw the effect of the late freezing rain on the trees, which, over an extent of country six times as large as

England, has despoiled trees as completely as if chain shot had passed through them all. The trees and shrubs are laden with ice, a weight ten times that of their own boughs. Many farmers lost nearly all their timber and orchards: a ship also was upset by the great weight of the ice adhering to her rigging.

April 7th.— I met with a black gentleman who has bought a beautiful farm, with a good house and improvements, six miles only from Philadelphia, at twenty dollars an acre, at a sheriff's sale. A law has just passed to prevent any more selling under two thirds of a fair valuation. A quaker whom I met, states that Joseph Lancaster injured himself by going to Baltimore. He did not succeed at Philadelphia, the only place where he could have succeeded, because he expected more attention from the inhabitants of that city, than they ever pay to any body.

Visited Peale's museum,[142] a fine collection of native and foreign curiosities, amongst the former of which are the skeleton of a mammoth, 15 feet high, and horns, nine feet long, under the belly of which, as under an arch, a horse might run full gallop. I crept down the throat of an alligator. [400] Several bodies of Indian chiefs are here to be seen dried, standing in their usual dresses and attitudes, as well as some Otaheiteans.[143] There is also the skin from the thighs and legs of an Indian, tanned by Indians into fine leather, for thus they use their prisoners taken in battle. I saw the manuscript of a poem of Major André, penned about two months before his execution.[144] Here is also a fine collection of national portraits.

[142] For a brief account of Peale's museum, see Flint's *Letters*, volume ix of our series, note 21.— Ed.

[143] The Otaheiteans are Hawaiians.— Ed.

[144] Probably *The Cow Chase* (London, 1781), a satirical poem in three cantos, on an unfortunate sally made by Brigadier-general Anthony Wayne on Bergen

8th.— I this day set sail from Philadelphia for Charleston, in the *General Wade Hampton*, and anchored at Newcastle in the evening.

Sunday, 9th.— I rode with the captain, in his chariot, to the beautiful seat and extensive powder mills of E. S. Dupont, Esq.[145] on the Brandywine creek, a fine stream full of natural falls and working many mills. We went for 500 barrels of gunpowder. Mr. Dupont, who pressingly invited us to dine, seems a liberal, intelligent Frenchman, of large capital, which sometimes vanishes by explosion, together with the doors and windows of his elegant mansion.

During this twenty miles ride, I observed that thornquicks are here generally used as an outward fence, but they are badly managed. I saw, on poor wet lands, large heaps of lime, formed by oyster shells and stone, gathered and burnt for manure; in this way cheaply turning stone into bread.

We received this evening three or four physicians [401] and other passengers, to the number of ten or twelve, on board the *Wade Hampton*.

10th.— At three, this morning, we got under weigh, sailing into the bay of Delaware, and by noon arrived opposite to the light-house.

Neck, on North River, July 20, 1780. It was written before André's apprehension, the last canto being published (at New York) on the very day of the author's capture. See "Introduction" to *The Cow Chase* (Albany edition, 1866), p. 11.— Ed.

[145] Eleuthère Irénée Du Pont (born in Paris, 1771), was early interested in scientific subjects. At the instance of Lavoisier, superintendent of the government powder mills, he studied at the royal mills at Essonne in order to prepare himself for that position. But the French Revolution interfered with his plans. After being thrice imprisoned, his father came with the family to America (1799). Eleuthère turned his training to account by establishing (1802) a powder factory on the Brandywine, near Wilmington, which, at the time of his death (1834), was the largest in the country.— Ed.

A family (says the Captain) from England, of the name of Clementson, recently bought an estate from a scoundrel old countryman, of the name of Watson, living at Philadelphia, at a price 200 or 300 per cent. above its value. They paid in part about 6,000 dollars, but being unable to pay the remainder, and having no written contract, he induced them to quit and go to the wilds of Ohio, where, he said, he had much land at a low price, which they should have for the money in his hand. He also kindly gave them a letter of credit to his agent there; but on arriving, they found that he was unknown, and had no land, nor agent; and they were in consequence forced to sell their horses, waggon, and every necessary, to enable them, in unspeakable distress, to return to prosecute this scoundrel; but they had no evidence against him, and therefore found it advisable to lose their money without going to law. Having about 2,000 dollars left, they purchased and stocked a farm bigger and better than the one for which they were to have paid 8,000, or 10,000 dollars. Old countrymen, it is said, make the most complete rascals.

11*th.*— Now at sea, exposed to head-winds and sea-sickness. An Irish gentleman from Missouri, [402] states that last week, on board the steam-boat, he met a black archbishop and several of his inferior clergy. This most reverend father in God was endeavouring to prove that Adam, Noah, and all the prophets, and patriarchs, down to Jesus Christ, were blacks, and that a small portion of mankind, and that the worst, are whites, of whom Cain is the progenitor.

The Missouri Irishman has invested 50,000 dollars in land, the advantages of which he deems to be yet dubious and prospective. He says that society is bad, and that the people are unprincipled.

12*th.*— Two old German gentlemen, heroes of the revolution, now on board, state, that they knew the accomplished and unfortunate Major André. When taken by three militiamen, in the capacity of a British spy, endeavouring to seduce West Point, he was dressed as a citizen, instead of appearing in the regimentals of his country, which greatly aggravated his crime. He offered his gold watch and purse, and large pecuniary compensation to be released, but the three men were firm. Both sides regretted, and were unwilling to witness, his death; and the American government would have saved him, if the British would have given up the traitor Arnold. He was fairly tried, and no precipitation evinced towards him. He thanked the court martial for their gentlemanly treatment, submitted to his fate as a matter of course, and [403] with great firmness prepared himself for it. Three months elapsed between his apprehension and execution. But when he was led out to execution, and saw the gallows instead of the rifle, his firmness, in some measure, forsook him. He was elegantly dressed in his martial suit, and on giving his cravat to his waiting man, only said, "I die for the honour of my king and country;" at which General Green, the American commander, who presided in the midst of the surrounding army on this sad occasion, shook his head, and observed, "'No! you die for your cowardice, and like a coward!"

General Washington signed the order for his death with great reluctance; but the army were dissatisfied and demanded the sacrifice. The example was necessary and salutary, and in its general consequence calculated to deter men of honour and respectability from such military meanness. Major André hoped to the last to escape. The tories, of whom he was one, had previously murdered

some of the citizens and officers, in consequence of which, General Washington determined on retaliation by executing one of the British tory officers then prisoners, and ordered them to draw lots to decide who of their number must die. The lot fell on Sir Charles Asgill, who, but for the French influence of Count Vergennes, and a most pathetic letter from the baronet's mother, would have been executed.[146]

[404] The quakers, about New Jersey, were very loyal, and locked up the wells, and withheld all aid from the rebels!

Sunday, 16*th*.— Fine breeze; sailing by Cape Hatteras, to pass which occupied two days. A strong current of air is here found, rushing to the land, accompanied generally with tempestuous gales. A gap in the Allegany mountains, towards which this current rushes, is said to be the cause.

18*th*.— At three o'clock this afternoon I landed at Charleston, and found all nature in its most beautiful attire. Peas and all kinds of summer vegetables are in great abundance, and the peach-trees full of fruit. I found that my much respected friend, N. Russell, Esq. had died only a fortnight since; he kindly inquired after me in his extremity.

19*th*.— I met my old shipmate, Mr. Moses Wood. I bought twilled nankeen trowsers for two dollars and a half. London clothes of good and best kinds sell at lower prices than in London.

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[146] Captain Joseph Huddy, of the New Jersey line, had been captured by the British, falsely accused of being concerned in the death of Philip White, a desperate Tory, and hanged. In retaliation Washington was authorized by Congress to select by lot from his prisoners an officer of equal rank, to be executed. The lot fell to Sir Charles, but his execution was delayed, and Congress ultimately directed him to be freed.— Ed

Rattlesnakes.— A gentleman informed me that he once shot a rattlesnake as thick as his thigh, and 26 years old. Its age is known by its tail. It was near biting him. A neighbour of his left his house in search of his swine, and being long away, his wife went after him and found him dead, killed by a snake, to the bite of which the poor deceased had applied a quid of tobacco, then found sticking on the wound. Another neighbour, [405] who was also bitten, managed to walk home before he fell, but died very soon after his arrival. I was told, also, of a planter, out with his dogs and rifle after a deer, which he shot; but on bringing it to lay on the horse, a rattlesnake struck the man, who was found dead, with the buck and horse, which being tied to a tree was starved to death. Thus they were all found dead in one heap together.

20th.— By conversation with Judge King, to whom I presented J. Wright's pamphlet on slavery, I learn that my negro case was much noticed, and its exposure much and indignantly regretted. Mr. King says that it was indiscreet in me to report facts, except from the evidence of my own senses! If no testimony is to be received, but that of our own eyes, half the evidence in the world is worthless. The Carolinians love slavery, and hate all who hate it. Both Mr. King and Mr. Duncan state, that in consequence of that affair, and of my being a foreigner, a stranger in a strange land, if Gregory should prosecute me for an advertisement, which I found it necessary, in pursuing the claims on the Rugeley property, to publish against him, I should meet with but little mercy from the jury!

21st.— Called on Patrick Duncan, Esq., and took a final leave of him and his beautiful gardens, in which are

oranges, figs, sugar-canes, pomegranates, and the prairie grass of South America, soft as silk in hand.

[406] Received, from my warm-hearted Irish friend, Mr. Wood, 50 dollars, an unsolicited loan, although he knows me not. Here is faith, greater than almost any I have yet found in America.

The slave-owners, in this state, must maintain all their helpless and infirm slaves, or kill them privately. They cannot become chargeable to the parish, or state. O humanity, where art thou!!! As a punishment for the lassitude of age, or the idleness of youth, a *nigger* is stripped naked, well flogged, then dressed all over with treacle (or molasses) and hung up by his heels on a tree, in a swamp full of flies and mosquitoes, which lick up the sweets, and sting and bleed him dreadfully into the bargain. He is then a living lump of inflammation. What ingenious torture this! how refined! how honourable to the taste and ingenuity of a nation, the freest of the free, and who boast of superabundant polish and civilization!

When with my cousin, Major Rugely, in May last, I was presented with a beautiful black female baby, that could just creep, and which was given and intended to be sent as a keepsake to my lady in England; but I, not being qualified for a nurse at sea, nor indeed by land, declined this well-intended gift. The Major then possessed a poor negro, who wishing to die, was constantly detected in the act of eating dirt or lumps of earth, a habit which procured for him a cow-hiding daily! I might have had him, and branded him with my own [407] brand, F. As cattle it is necessary so to distinguish one herd from another, and if they stray, or are stolen, to advertise their persons, cor-

rectly describing the mark, or brand, which is deeply burnt in, and never obliterated, unless it is cut out!

Sunday, 23rd.— I bade, this morning, a willing and final farewell to Charleston city, and to all its bugs, mosquitoes, negroes, and alligators, and a race of people, many of whom seem not much better than they. I left behind me some copies of J. Wright's pamphlet on slavery, for his Excellency, Governor Geddiss, the Attorney-General Haines, the editor of the Courier, Mr. Thomas Mitchel, and Mr. Judge King, the latter of whom promised to keep his a profound secret. The press seems here to be more enslaved than under the most despotic government. At night I found myself at sea, 60 miles from Charleston, in the *President* for New York. Fare, 25 dollars.

25th.— I saw two young alligators emigrating to the north. Mr. Morse (the son of the geographer, Dr. Morse)[147] states, that at New Haven University, Connecticut, an education of four years costs only 1,000 dollars, board included. The same gentleman states, that in Connecticut, republicanism and equality exist in greater purity than in any other part of the union. The farmers and people generally live economically and comfortably, surrounded with a cheap abundance of all the [408] necessaries of life, but they keep no domestic servants, male or female. They are their own servants. As to negroes, scarcely one is to be seen in a day's travel. The people generally are so well educated in this state, that almost any man is qualified for a schoolmaster in any of the sister states. Dr. Paley's moral philosophy is a text book in their college.

26th.— A young gentleman on board, from the state of Albania, says that Mobile, out of 600, lost 530 inhabitants,

[147] See *ante*, note 131.— Ed.

by the yellow fever last summer. In winter the population is from 2 to 3,000.

A dashing English gentleman travelling through this state with a white servant behind him, rode up to a one-room log-tavern, and begged the landlord to let him have a room to himself, which was agreed to. In a few minutes up came two native travellers, *equals*, who entered without ceremony, when the Englishman began to curse the landlord for permitting the intrusion. He replied, that he meant that the gentleman should have the room to himself until other travellers came up.

29*th*.— At ten this morning we made Sandyhook light-house. The scenery here, all the way up to the city of New York, is delightful. Perhaps the views presented by this city and neighbourhood are unequalled, both as it respects the beauties of nature and the works of art. I landed at six o'clock, and was introduced by Messrs. Morse [409] and Co. to the boarding-house of Mrs. Mudge, where I met Mr. Dwight, a brother of the late eminent Dr. Dwight, now editor of the New York Advertiser.[148] In person this gentleman is said to be much like the Doctor.

Sunday, 30*th*.— I accompanied Mr. Morse to the splendid Presbyterian church of the eloquent Dr. Romaine,[149] whose prayers are the most appropriate in manner and matter, and whose sermons are, with the exception of Dr.

[148] Theodore Dwight (1765-1846), who in 1817 founded the New York *Daily Advertiser*, was a brother of Timothy Dwight, the famous educator.— Ed

[149] John Broadhead Romeyn (1777-1825), graduated from Columbia College, and after preaching in Troy and elsewhere in eastern New York, became pastor of Cedar Street Presbyterian Church, New York City (1807). He was one of the founders of Princeton Theological Seminary, and at the age of thirty-three was moderator of the general assembly of the Presbyterian church. He was offered the presidency both of Dickinson College and Transylvania University, but declined to leave his New York pastorate.— Ed.

Storton's, superior to any I have heard in America. On this day, the appearance of this large city is most orderly and christian-like. This laudable change is attributed to Sunday-schools. All places of worship are thronged. How unlike Washington city! Mr. Morse states that not only in New York, but in all the east, a religious feeling generally pervades the people.

May 1st.— Passed over to Brooklyn, a beautiful gay-looking village of great extent in Long Island, in quest of my old friend, and western fellow-traveller, Mr. Wheeler, whom I found three miles from the city, living on a hired farm of about 30 acres of arable land, and six in wood, or rather cedar, on which is a beautiful house, to which I was warmly welcomed. It consists of six small rooms and piazzas on each side, standing in an orchard fronting the public road, which, for four miles, is like one continued suburban village all the way from New York. The farm cost, two [410] years ago, without a house or well, 3,500 dollars, and the house and well have since cost 1,500 dollars. Mr. Wheeler has hired this situation for one year only, at the rent of 300 dollars, ten dollars an acre, all poor and long-exhausted land, insomuch that nothing can be raised without manure, which is bought at one dollar per load, and hauled three miles.

Land, thus situated, is expected to be devoted to raising garden-stuff, or to be occupied only as a suburban retreat. The mere farmer can scarcely live out of it, even if it is his own, unless he cultivates vegetables, and carries his milk to New York market, in small quantities, daily. Those who have lived here eighteen or twenty years, on their own estates, have only just lived, saved nothing, and been always their own servants. Mr. Wheeler has three servants, one black man, and a white man and woman.

The white man has 100 dollars a-year; the black man ten dollars a month; and the woman five dollars and board, working from sun-rise to dark.

2nd.— After dinner, Mr. Wheeler ordered out of the plough into the carriage, his pair of handsome greys, when, with the ladies, we drove to the beautiful neighbouring villages of New-town, Flushing, and Jamaica, at the latter of which is the residence of Rufus King, Esq. a house by no means equal to those of the village squires of England, yet very inviting. Perhaps no where, [411] except in the vicinity of London and Bath, can a more attractive ride of twenty miles be found; the whole distance of road, from the city, seeming one continued village of new and handsome farm-houses, with either a pleasure-garden, or green pasture, or orchard, or all of them, in front of almost every house, any of which may be bought, boards being up, *For sale, this farm.* But the land, in every direction, is poor, except where superior and expensive management exists. Every thing is sold from the land, which might make manure and enrich it. The leaves of the forest trees now begin to appear. The spring is late, yet the orchards are in full bloom. The frost was severe last night.

Though he has three servants, Mr. Wheeler cleans his own boots. They would not absolutely refuse, but would do it reluctantly, and feel disgraced by the act; yet two of them are good servants. A black servant lately broke into the cellar and dairy of Mr. Wheeler, and stole all the bread and meat he could find; he is now in gaol. About two years ago, in great rage with his sister, he caught hold of her head, and endeavoured, with an axe, to chop it off; but not being able to get it into a fit place, he chopped off two of her fingers, and nailed them on the door-post!

4*th*.— I made, on horseback, the tour of York island, about ten miles in length and two in breadth. On one side is the noble Hudson, or great North River, and on the other, the East River [412] and Hell-gate, and the beautiful villages of Manhattan, Haarlem, and Greenwich. All the road from the city, to the extremity of, and beyond the isle, is adorned, on both sides, with the country-seats and pleasure-grounds of rich citizens, who, like those of London, every morning and evening drive to and fro in great numbers. Perhaps no city in the world is so happily situated as that of New York, standing on this island, with the sea to the south, and these majestic rivers, from one to two miles wide, on the north and east, the banks of which are very high, and for twelve miles crowned with mansions. The houses on the roads, thus leading through the isle to the city, have each from five to ten acres of green pasture, park, or pleasure-gardens, which renders them more rural, though less splendid than those on the roads leading to London. I saw from fifty to 100 convicts, heavily ironed, forming a new road for the state; receiving no pay nor shirts, but only food.

I visited the supreme court, and inquired for Messrs. Emmett and Sampson, but saw not these celebrated refugees.[150]

Mr. Wheeler agreed to purchase a quantity of seed corn from a neighbour, which was to be picked, but much of it came in rotten. Mr. W. returned the rotten part, and begged other corn to be sent in its place. "No, send it

[150] For Judge Emmett, see *ante* (volume xi), note 37.

William Sampson was born in Londonderry, Ireland, 1764. He became a barrister, and acted as counsel for members of the Society of United Irishmen, thereby incurring the suspicion of the English government. After the rebellion of 1798, he was imprisoned, and upon gaining his freedom came to the United States, establishing himself as a lawyer in New York, where he was influential in amending and codifying the state laws.— Ed.

all back! that is not the way we deal here;" in great rage, [413] said the farmer, "you may do so in your country, but not here."

5*th.*— Bade farewell to Long Island, and my much esteemed friends, the Wheelers, who pressingly invited me to stay longer. I renewed my invitation to them to come and make Whitehall their home, when, if ever, they came to England.

I quitted New York, for Philadelphia, at ten this morning. Left a history of Somersham for Mr. F. Morse of Newhaven.

Visited one of the packet-ships, the *James Monroe*, the most complete I ever saw; every birth is a state room. For forty guineas, it transports passengers to Liverpool in high style. All are fed luxuriously.

6*th.*— At six this morning, I left Borden town, on the Delaware, where are the ruins of Joseph Bonaparte's house, about to be rebuilt. Sixty men are employed already. The estate, consisting of 300 acres, all poor land, is now laying out into pleasure-grounds, and park, enclosed with a fine fence; it cost five dollars an acre. Joseph came hither, it is said, with ten millions of dollars from the Spanish treasury.

I reached the City of Philadelphia at ten this morning, just twenty-eight days after I left it, since which time I have travelled about 2,000 miles, and rested eleven days.

Sunday, 7*th.*— I was present when Dr Storton, [414] administered the rites of baptism to a large, respectable auditory. He is rather pompous in his expressions, and theatrical in his action and manner, but certainly an accomplished man. He has said that there is no preaching talent in America but what is imported; but this is not strictly true.

11*th*. I wrote the following epistle to Mr. Day, of St. Ives in England, by the ship Electra, bound for London.

May 11, 1820.

Dear Sir,

At this distance of time and place, the recollection of you is replete with all that is good and pleasant to me; while the esteem and regard always professed and felt for you demand, at least, one epistle, as a thing not to be withheld. I should have had great pleasure in your correspondence, but it is now too late, as my duties here are nearly at an end, and by the time this reaches you, I hope, under the guidance of gracious Providence, that the compass, in unison with my heart, will be pointing me towards my own home and country.

The inducements to emigrate, and the facilities of living here, are neither so great nor so many as I wished and expected to find them. The majority of those who come are without capital and above useful labour. Of this kind seem our friends —— and ——, and others known to you, whose [415] prospects are, I assure you, very shadowy. I speak impartially. Even capital, I believe, can any where be better employed than here. And as to labourers, there are more than can be paid. By the late report of this city, it appeared that 11,000 within these walls were in a state of unemployed pauperism; while in one prison only, are 600 thieves and incendiaries, the natural fruits of increasing poverty.

Land, generally, is not property in this country, because there is infinitely more than enough; the surplus, therefore, is worth nothing. What is already in cultivation by hired hands lessens, rather than augments capital. Even potatoes, you know, cannot be produced from one

without the agency of the other. The markets are all glutted, and without foreign demand, a surplus produce is not desirable, because unsaleable and perishable.

All travel is restless labour, and "vanity and vexation of spirit." Its idea was once so supremely fascinating to my ambition, that I thought I never could have enough of it, and therefore wished myself doomed to perpetual travel. I have my wish, or something like it, and it disappoints me. During the last two years I have indeed found "no continuing city;" it is well if I seek and find one to come. I fly from city to city, from town to town, state to state, climate to climate, with the velocity of an eagle. I have frigid and tropical latitudes, polar cold and equinoxial heat, wintry desolation, [416] and the summery foliage of oranges and myrtles, all in the short space of one week, or less. For although this beautiful city of William Penn lies in an Egyptian latitude, winter has not long been over; whereas, it never enters the city of Charleston, which I have just quitted, where

> "Blossoms and fruits and flowers together rise,
> And all the year in rich confusion lies."

The male youth generally of this, and other cities, are remarkably polished, sprightly and prepossessing in their exterior; being of tall and slender figures, and looking free and easy, without any thing like levity, for each puts on all the airs, manners, actions, and opinions of men, with his *first* pair of breeches, and expects to be treated as a man. But ringlets decorate the faces of both sexes, and in other respects all are dandies, male and female! The young ladies generally are not so handsome as the males; though beauty is not rare amongst them. A woman's duties and province are, I think, yet undiscovered. She is here, that is, in all sections south of the Delaware, a

little divinity, to whom all must bend, give place, and pay idle homage; her tyranny is great, her influence unbounded. Her lover, or husband, is outwardly her slave; but as a wife, mother, mistress, she must yield to my unequalled countrywomen. Youth here, is of very short duration; all soon look old; and "all the days of the years of this vain life," soon come to an end. Religion and duty seem but little understood, [417] and less regarded, except it be to ascertain how little of either may suffice. Paley's Moral Philosophy has been, perhaps, the text book of the educated, who are very numerous; yet but few live and die practical philosophers. Death is little dreaded, and often, as in duelling, voluntarily embraced. Two selfish gods, Pleasure and Gain, enslave the Americans. The scum of all the earth is drifted here.

As this is sent off about a month after my other, and will be my last letter from this country, I wish you to inform my good father, if living, and Mr. Ingle, of my present refuge and intended return, and assure them of my best regards. My beloved child, who, by-the-bye, would become in part your ward if I returned no more, is very precious in my sight; if you knew her, I should beg you to pronounce a father's blessing on her; but it comes to her on every western breeze. When I can, I will teach her to esteem you, and perpetuate, what is of little value, the disinterested and most sincere friendship of,

Dear Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

W. Faux.

11*th.*— Mistrust and suspicion are general in Philadelphia. The cause is a general disregard or violation of duty. Two respectable quakers would not suffer

Mr.—— to owe them eight [418] dollars for a day or two, though guaranteed by a second person, who, for any thing they knew, might be respectable; so they took out two pieces of muslin to reduce the bill down to the funds in hand. "Notwithstanding this guarantee," said the quaker, "I will, and must have the thing squared." The representative of my friend then paid the complete balance. I was present at this transaction, and feeling both pained and amused, began to speculate upon it, and to consider what could have generated this general suspicion and distrust. It is the common effect of some cause. What cause? A general violation or neglect of some prominent duties, not directly guarded by the laws, but the observance of which is indispensable to the good of mankind every where. Culpability of this kind, in not doing to others as we would be done by, does more injury to the world than all the thieves and incendiaries put together; because the consequence in one case is particular, in the other illimitable. If I act justly towards my neighbour, I confer both temporal and moral good on him and on myself. But it stops not here: he learns thereby its value, and acts in like manner towards others. On the other hand, if I violate my duty to him, he retaliates not only on me, but on others indiscriminately. He thinks he has been honest and unsuspicious long enough, and bids adieu to rectitude perhaps for ever.

Last month at Dover, Delaware, Squire Loper [419] received sentence of the court for passing forged notes, knowing them to be so. He had been in the commission of the peace for 20 years, and received the forged notes from a gang convicted before him of forgery. The notes had remained in his hands ever since. A month ago, he desired a gentleman, a neighbour of his going to

Philadelphia, to buy him some iron, and meeting the gentleman privately, gave him fifty dollars, saying, "Take notice it is a fifty dollar note," and gave it him carefully wrapped in paper. When the bearer offered it for the iron, it was discovered to be one of the forged notes, well known to have been offered by the gang before. The gentleman had some difficulty in keeping out of the Penitentiary. On proving himself not to be a party concerned, and promising to bring the Squire forward, he was released. The Squire admitted the note to be forged, and said, he gave it to his friend only in joke. On being arrested, he was treated with great liberality, but he acted haughtily and foolishly. On his trial he would not employ counsel nor set up any defence; but in a cool, sneering manner said, that the note was given in joke, and the court might do as they would. He was sentenced to six months' solitary confinement, thirty-nine lashes, and never after to pass out of his own house in Dover without the letter F, a foot long in scarlet, on his back, on pain of another six months' confinement and thirty-nine stripes. But so great was the [420] public pity for him, in court and out, both with judge and jury, that the prison door was left open for him in hope that he would escape and quit the neighbourhood for ever. He did escape into the town only, and came back to prison voluntarily, where no such chance is again to be afforded him.

At night, I went to the black church, where the black minister shewed much uncultivated talent. After sermon they began singing merrily, and continued, without stopping, one hour, till they became exhausted and breathless. "Oh! come to Zion, come!" "Hallelujah, &c." And then, "O won't you have my lovely bleeding *Jasus*," a thousand times repeated in full thundering chorus to the tune

of "Fol de rol." While all the time they were clapping hands, shouting, and jumping, and exclaiming, "Ah Lord! Good Lord! Give me *Jasus!* Amen." At half-past ten this meeting broke up. For an hour it seemed like Bedlam let loose. At the close, one female said, striking the breasts of two male friends, "We had a happy time of it."

16*th.*— Last week, in the state of Delaware, the High Sheriff had to perform the duty of Jack Ketch, and hang his own nephew, for the murder of his *own* mother, the Sheriff's sister. The youth killed her by striking her with a club on the temple. In the same neighbourhood and the same week another youth was sent to gaol for poisoning his uncle, a rich old gentleman, who being childless, had [421] taken this nephew into the house and made him heir to all; but the youth being impatient, went to a druggist for arsenic, which he said was to kill the rats, that every night kept his uncle from sleeping. He mixed a portion of it in a glass of apple-toddy and gave it to his uncle, but in so large a portion that it began to operate immediately, on which the old man said, "You have given me something to do me harm." The youth denied it, but the old man grew rapidly sick, and feeling conscious that he was poisoned and should die before the distant doctor could arrive, got out the will in favor of the ungrateful youth, and having burnt it, died soon after.

A short time ago, the friends of a murderer, under sentence of death in Pennsylvania, conspired together to procure a pardon from the governor, by threats and intimidation. Their plan was to get the governor into a room to themselves, and offer him his own life for the pardon of Lieut. Smith, the convict, who had cohabited with Mrs. Carson, and taken possession of her house and prop-

erty, during the absence of her husband, Captain Carson. When the latter returned and demanded his wife and property, he was shot dead in his own house by Smith. The governor had intelligence of the plot, and seized the conspirators before they could carry their design into effect.

Sunday, 21st.— Quitted Philadelphia on board the steam-boat. A gentleman, Lieut. Skinner, of [422] the United States' navy, from the Franklin, just arrived from Gibraltar, states, that the sailors, on settling accounts, will go on shore and spend the balance, several hundred dollars, in two or three days, lavishing from 100 to 200 dollars a-day, until all is gone, when they re-enter. So indifferent are they to the use and value of money, that they give it away, and suffer any person to plunder them with impunity. The cause, says he, of this indifference and insane extravagance, is to be found in the strictness and severity of the discipline on board, where money is of no use to them.

Duelling.— So frequent were these meetings between the officers of the United States' navy and the British garrison, that the governor felt compelled to interfere, in order to save life, as one or two duels occurred daily, originating in the most foolish disputes.

The parties met always on neutral ground. For any expression uttered by one officer of the 64th regiment, a general challenge was sent by the officers of the United States' navy to the regiment; wishing to include *all*, from the colonel down to the lowest in rank.

Two young Americans, of New York, at Gibraltar, met in consequence of a trifling dispute. The offending party fired three times without hitting, while his opponent fired every time into the air, begging the other to apologize,

saying, "If I take aim I shall kill you, but I can stand all your [423] fires." This concession was, however, obstinately refused; on which the seconds stepped forward, and said to the party who had acted so generously, "Sir, you must fire in your own defence!" Both again charged, and Sands, the aggressor, fell dead. The survivor was arrested, but acquitted with honour; being told by his commander, that if he had not acted thus, he would not have received him again into the service. The young reprobate who fell, was a classical scholar, of fine person and great mental accomplishments, but ripe for perdition.

22*nd*.— I reached Washington city, now emptied of the wise men, and which, after quitting Philadelphia, seems mean, indeed, both morally and physically. All the bogs and swamps, in and round the city, are now full of melody, from the big, bellowing bull frog, down to the little singing mosquito, while rotting carcases and other nuisances perfume the warm southern breezes.

A lady, in a letter to Mr. Thomas Coote, from New Orleans, states that eighteen American pirates under sentence of death, in the jail of that city, have many friends, much intent upon effecting a rescue, by forcing the prison, which is strongly guarded by the military. Every night almost, for this purpose, mobs collect around it and set fire to distant parts of the city, in order to divert the attention of the guards from the prison. Great alarm exists on the subject, and it is feared, [424] that on the day of execution, much blood will be spilt.

One hundred sail of slave-ships, full of slaves, appeared in sight, one day, during this spring, off the coast of Africa. Several of them were fast sailing vessels, built, owned, and manned by the free citizens of free America. Some were

chased and taken by the British and American navy. This trade is now considered to be more extensive than ever.

30*th*.— Visited Mr. Dunn, who states that the small red squirrel, of this state, is seen to seize and castrate, in a moment, the large grey squirrel, which greatly fears and always flies at the sight of the former.

Are those English people who are now in America happier than they were in England? I will take upon me to pronounce, that in the aggregate, they are not. Happiness and misery are not mere localities, for as God is the father of all, the earth is his and the fulness thereof; his frowns or smiles are not bounded by geographical lines and latitudes; the whole human family are under his wise economy. God's management is always right. He can blast prosperity and bless disappointment, so as to keep it from disappointing; thus bringing good out of evil, light out of darkness, blessings out of curses, and curses out of blessings. Blessings unblessed are curses in disguise, and adversity blessed is a blessing. We need his blessing [425] upon every thing, even on his blessings. I am sometimes disposed to think that the blessings of American liberty are unblessed.

Mr. Elliott deems universal suffrage, as it exists in America, an universal evil, because the worst and meanest of mankind, who are the most numerous every where, are enabled to exert an overwhelming influence over the good and the honourable. Every man here is a segment of the government. Mean and evil men seek to represent their like. A good man cannot descend to the mean mode of popularity; he cannot bribe with whiskey; he cannot promise what is evil to perform; and therefore but few good men are in the government. Antipathy to English-

men, and whatever they suggest, is general and nearly national.

For the following very interesting, original, and last letter of a distinguished, yet unfortunate artist, I am indebted to an old philosophical friend, whose well-judged opinions of and extensive acquaintance with men and things, make his sentiments precious and almost oracular. Let him here receive my thanks for the many pleasant hours which I spent in his company, and for the rich materials of thinking gathered from him.

Washington, September 5th, 1820.

Dear Sir,

I embrace the opportunity of writing to you by the favour of Mrs. Orris. I enclose a letter received [426] from the celebrated *Francis Guy*, landscape painter, who lately died at New York. He was at the head of his profession in this country, and perhaps in the world. He was born near Keswick, in Cumberland, England. I knew him well, and esteemed him highly, as well for his virtues as his talents. In this letter, (which I believe was the last he wrote, it being dated only a few days before his death) you will know the opinion of many artists, who have left their country to seek for food and fame in this, and see how they are rewarded for the exercise of their talents in this great republic of North America. *He (Guy) told me that he had not received* 50 *cents per day for his labours*! You are welcome to any use of this letter.

Buildings seem to rise very fast, notwithstanding the badness of the times, as they are termed.

Please to favour me with a letter as soon as convenient. I am in daily expectation of the nuts, &c. The ground has been ploughed some weeks for their reception. I am

in good health, but my mother, my wife, my brother, his wife, and oldest child are all very sick.

Please accept my best wishes for your welfare. The club also wish to be remembered to you.

Your Old Friend.

To Mr. Faux.

[427] *Brooklyn, Long Island, June 29th*, 1820.

My Dear Friend,

I received yours, with its inclosures, in due time, and it would be a difficult thing for me to describe the pleasure I feel at seeing such a proof of your continued friendship. There is, indeed, a something in a real upright and downright honest John Bull, that cannot be found in the sly, say-nothing, smiling, deep speculating, money-hunting Jonathans of this all-men-are-born-equally-free-and-independent, negro-driving, cow-skin republic.

It is surely wrong to be content with nothing, because not blessed with all. We see bad effects, we hate them, and we grumble, but ten to one it is because we are unacquainted with the cause from whence they spring; but there is one self-evident, hell-born cause of endless ills in this land, which, for want of a better name, we will call avarice. From Maine to Georgia, on all occasions, the general question is, How much shall I get by it? What will it fetch me? Pray what benefit will that be to me? &c. &c. From this, man-stealing, mail robberies, piracy, murders, thefts, swindling, forgeries, lying, cheating, slavery, whips, gags, chains, and all the black catalogue of monstrous ills proceed. Indeed, that angel who is described by Milton as being more fond of admiring Heaven's golden pavement, than any thing glorious aloft,

is the ruling god of this nation; and in imitation [428] of him, they are for ever chasing dollars, walking half bent under the accursed dominion of selfish views. But death, the mighty hunter, will catch them all, and then, in company with their god Belial, they will enjoy the name, title, and privilege of *fools*. There is a national church liturgy in England, and if ever there should be one adopted here, the following I think ought to form a part of it.

Money, money, is all our cry,
Money, the total sum!
Give us money or else we die;
O let thy money come!

But I am rambling from the Capitol. Your son has drawn it very well, but I wish he had drawn it on a larger scale, that the order of columns and windows might have been more distinct. However, it is the wrong side of the building; it is the east front and north end that I must paint, looking down towards George-town, and the place I sketched the view from was just above your house; therefore I must paint the east front and north end. This, like a fool, I forgot to inform you of; but if both fronts are to be alike, then what you have sent will do; if not, then I will thank both you and him to send me another drawing, at least so far as the centre of the east front differs from that of the west.

Since I wrote the above, Mr. King, the painter, has been in this place, and informs us that both [429] fronts of the capitol will be the same; therefore, if that be so, what you have sent will answer; and when I come to your place in the fall, I will reward your son for his drawing, or if he choose to make a charge, I will send the money by the post, whatever it may be.

Give my dutiful respects to Dr. Thornton, and tell him

that I wish he could see the picture of Washington city when it is finished — I think it will be a grand sight. I am now painting a large view of Chichester, in England, for Governor Clinton; in which his likeness, with those of Judge Miller and Doctor Mitchel, are to be painted on the fore-ground. I wish the doctor could see this paradise scenery also. You talk of coming to York; I wonder if ever I shall have the pleasure of seeing you here. In your last, you ask if I have any communications to send. Perhaps I may have some to send concerning myself, for be assured that if we do not now condescend to go out of our old beaten track, we must fall through thick and thin. When that should be, it would be no sin to do one of the worst things in the world, that is, turn one's own trumpeter.

God prosper you in all your good ways, keep you from all bad ones, and may you live contented, and die happy!

FRANCIS GUY.

Thus you see I have written a letter, and on one [430] account or another delayed sending it until there is need to write another, to make an apology for the neglect. Indeed, my good wife has been very unwell, and my concern for her made me forget every thing else. This I know you will say is a good and weighty excuse.

F. G.

June 10th.— News of firing the City of New Orleans, in order to effect a rescue of the pirates, reached this city this day. We hear, also, of the Choctaw Indians fighting, 150 opposed to 150, to avenge the death of an old woman, killed for a witch. They fought until both sides, with the exception of ten or twelve, were all killed.[151]

[151] Outbreaks of this character were so frequent in the years immediately following the War of 1812-15, that they found a place in the governor's annual messages. See Fortier, *History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), iii, p. 188.— ED.

A man was taken and nearly killed, last week, disguised as the devil, in the act of extorting 150 dollars from a farmer. He was dressed, and spit fire and brimstone, like a proper devil. He is now in prison. A Yankee traveller, lodging for the night, struck this felonious devil to the ground with a club, at the second visit to receive dollars, instead of paper, as at first offered by the farmer for the ransom of his body and soul.

12th.— I met again Mr. Perry from Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He states that the land and farms there are the best in America; the average of wheat being about eighteen bushels an acre. The best land is to be bought occasionally at fifty dollars an acre, with improvements which have cost all the money; so that the land is given. [431] Here, he says, an English farmer may, as a farmer, find much animal comfort, but no good society; the mass of the farmers and people being vile, dishonest, and without any good principles whatever. All try to rob and wrong you, and each other, and will do it if you associate, or deal in any way with them; and they will do it without any shame, being shameless. An honest man, though rich, must be soon ruined, if he puts confidence in them. "All are tarred with the same brush." The farmers all work. One, worth ten or twelve thousand dollars, brought in to Mr. Perry a waggon load of hay, which he warranted was a ton, though it was only sixteen cwt. Out of a farm of good land, consisting of 500 acres, a farmer does not find above 300 dollars a-year for the purchase of such necessaries as the family need from the store. No money is, therefore, to be made by farming, and the poor live in want all winter, at which time their labour is to be had for victuals only, and now for 25 cents a-day. From sober calculation, he finds that four per cent. is the most that can be obtained from capital employed in agriculture,

though six per cent. is the legal interest. He would, a thousand times, rather give five or six guineas an acre rent, for land at Feversham in Kent, than have it here rent-free; for, after paying this heavy rent and taxes and labour, he should have a good living profit in England, where the climate is good, but here, one year [432] wears you out more that seven in England. Grasshoppers too, here, are a plague, destroying every thing, in the pestilential months of August and September. There is no money; all is done by barter.

He would recommend me and others to stick by England while we can live in it, for he is sure, that if people in England would attend to their duties, and condescend to the meannesses and drudgeries every where practised here, they must live, and live better at home than ever they can here. And besides, though things are bad, there is a hope of better times. Here, there is no hope; things will be worse; for, with such an unprincipled, vile race of people, how is it possible that liberty and happiness can be secure? They know nothing of the nature of liberty, nor want to know. Law, justice, equity, liberty, are things unknown amongst them. In England, there is a good sound core, and seed that must always vegetate; here, all is rottenness. Mr. Perry believes, that grazing cattle in Pennsylvania, would pay much better than cultivating.

18*th.*— I re-visited Dr. Dawes's farm, which being in a state of complete exhaustion, is unable to produce again even the seed of any thing sown; the rye not affording what is commonly scattered for gleaners in England, while the peas, tares, and lentils rise not a foot high. This land can only be restored to fruitfulness by rest, clover, plaster, [433] and manure, and plenty of cattle and sheep to depasture and manure it.

19*th.*— This being a beautiful morning, the Doctor

ordered out his curricle, and we drove to the seat and plantation of the Right Honourable T. Law, accompanied by Mr. Joel Simpson. I having been introduced to Mr. Law, was appointed spokesman, and stood rapping at the hall of entrance ten minutes before I was heard. At last came a naked, dirty-legged, bare-footed little girl, to say that Mr. Law was not at home, nor likely to be before night. Soon after, came her father, the overseer, who "regretted that Mr. Law was absent at an agricultural dinner, as he was happy to see all callers." He, at my request, shewed us the garden, the farm, and the stock. The farm, about 250 acres, is beautifully situated on high hills, two miles from the Potowmac, but so stony and unfruitful, that its cultivation is a serious expense, rather than a benefit, it being unable to maintain itself. The garden and orchard, a few acres, seem equally poor; small quantities of its produce are, however, sent from it occasionally to market. At the bottom of it is a spa, or mineral spring, in which the proprietor bathes. The horses are all poor and fleshless, but the cattle and cows, about twelve in number, fat. A cow and a bull of the Yorkshire breed, from England, dislike (says the man) this climate. [434] The cow gives but little milk, and pines for the sweet, green pastures of her dear native land.

The English labourers, sent over to this farm, are all gone, being drunken and worthless, and withal, so uncivil and conceited, that Mr. Law, who likes men to talk freely with him, could scarcely get a civil answer from any of them. We were at last conducted into the house, and introduced to a pint of whiskey. We saw no house-servants, but heard one, a female slave recently bought, the only slave Mr. Law owns. He lives in great simplicity. The house is better than the best American farm-houses; still, it is not a mansion, but rather something between

both. In the centre and front, is a large oblong room, the largest in the house, and resembling a hall of entrance, at each end of which is a smaller room for the winter, and on the other side, being a double house, are three small summer rooms, and chambers over the whole. The road through the farm up to the house is serpentine, and planted with dying shrubs. It is rough, stony, and difficult of ascent, and the entrance-gate (where might stand a porter's lodge) is meaner than a hog-pen-gate. In this retreat dined the President and 200 gentlemen last week. The society admitted here is select, and the principal attraction to it is Mr. Law, who is kind, agreeable, and benevolent to all. In his personal appearance, he is small, lean, [435] withered, and rustic. His nose, however, is noble, like Lord Ellenborough's, but his mind is perhaps nobler than that of any of the family, although he lives in greater simplicity than a country squire of England.

21*st*.— An old Scotsman, a perfect stranger, this morning conscientiously brought back cloth to Mr. ——'s store, to be re-measured, the same containing, he found, several yards more than he had paid for, or expected to find. A mistake had occurred in measuring. An American lady of respectability, also of this city, was standing by, and, in the greatest astonishment, exclaimed: "What! bring it back because there is too much measure? Well, who ever heard the like? I would not have done so, I'll warrant ye." "O, my dear madam," said he, "I could not, would not, have it without paying for it; it is not mine." The proprietor of the store observed, very significantly, looking her ladyship in the face, "Madam, I know of only one rule, and that is, to do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." She blushed, and said no more. This shameless, unprincipled, selfishness is very universal. It is customary, with this people, never to

point out defects in goods, or errors in accounts, when such defects and errors exist in their favour. The qualities, honesty and dishonesty, as exemplified in these two characters, seemed as if they were natural.

[436] *23rd.*— The mayor of this city, Samuel N. Smallwood, Esq. now mayor for the second time, came here, twenty years ago, a pennyless mechanic, but being industrious, grew with the growth, and strengthened with the strength, of this infant metropolis. His mother was a yellow woman, and his origin is still distinguishable in his curled hair, which he keeps close shorn. This, further south, would have been a sin never to be forgiven. He is a man of talent, and lives much respected.

This day I passed a pleasant farm on the eastern branch of the Potowmac, half of it bottom land, and running a mile and a half along the shore, with a good house and offices, orchards, and large gardens. The hills are poor, and covered with woods, amongst which cattle and pigs graze, and breed, and fatten. It contains 667 acres, to be bought at sixty dollars an acre, works twenty, and might work thirty negroes, worth 9,000 dollars. It requires an additional capital of 6,000 or 7,000 dollars, for cultivating. Although much of this pleasant plantation is in wood, yet it is said to produce annually,

	Dollars
[437] Of Tobacco,	3,000
Corn and grain,	3,000
Garden-stuff,	3,000
Cattle and pigs, bred and fed,	2,000
Rent of fishery,	500
Butter,	1,000
	12,500
If the fishery were fished by the owner, it would make additional	1,000
	13,500

Thus is a capital of 55,000 dollars employed, netting twelve per cent., but the authority relied upon, in thus stating the case, is not the best.

The Patriot pilot-boat, last war, sailed from New York to Charleston city, for the Governor of South Carolina's Lady, Mrs. Allstone, Mr. Burr's daughter,[152] then at Charleston, who, with Mr. Green, her brother-in-law, and servant, plate and specie, sailed from Charleston. They were heard of no more, until last month, when one of the pirates, under sentence of death at New Orleans, confessed that he and others, of the crew of the Patriot, rose upon the captain and the passengers, confined them below, scuttled the vessel, and abandoned her, taking to the boat, in which, with all the money and plate they could find, they [438] landed on the coast of North Carolina, while the vessel, and all it contained, sunk to rise no more.

30*th*.— I re-visited the seat of Mr. Law, in company with Mr. Elliott, and the Rev. J. Wright. Mr. Law was dining out, three miles from home. I saw him not, but kept possession of the house three hours.

Mr. Law told a friend of mine that he brought 100,000 guineas in gold, but could not now raise, by any means, at a short notice, 1,000*l*. City lots and land allured him almost to ruin. Land seems a substance, but is yet only a shadow in many neighbourhoods.

A common hot day at Washington.— The wind southerly, like the breath of an oven; the thermometer vacillating between 90 and 100; the sky blue and cloudless; the sun shedding a blazing light; the face of the land, and every thing upon it, save trees, withered, dusty, baked, and con-

[152] In 1801 Theodosia Burr was married to Joseph Alston, governor of South Carolina (1812-14). The "Patriot" was supposedly lost off Cape Hatteras in 1812. See Merwin, *Aaron Burr* (Boston, 1899), p. 140.— Ed.

tinually heated, insomuch that water would almost hiss on it; the atmosphere swarming with noxious insects, flies, bugs, mosquitoes, and grasshoppers, and withal so drying, that all animal and vegetable life is exposed to a continual process of exhaustion. The breezes, if any, are perfumed by nuisances of all sorts, emptied into the streets, rotting carcases, and the exhalations of dismal swamps, made vocal and alive with toads, lizards, and bellowing bull-frogs. Few people are stirring, except negroes; all faces, save those [439] of blacks, pale, languid, and lengthened with lassitude, expressive of any thing but ease and happiness. Now and then an emigrant or two fall dead at the cold spring, or fountain; others are lying on the floor, flat on their backs; all, whether idle or employed, are comfortless, being in an everlasting steam-bath, and feeling offensive to themselves and others. At table, pleased with nothing, because both vegetable and animal food is generally withered, toughened, and tainted; the beverage, tea or coffee, contains dead flies; the beds and bed-rooms, at night, present a smothering unaltering warmth, the walls being thoroughly heated, and being withinside like the outside of an oven in continual use. Hard is the lot of him who bears the heat and burthen of this day, and pitiable the fate of the poor emigrant sighing in vain for comforts, cool breezes, wholesome diet, and the old friends of his native land. At midnight, the lightning-bugs and bull-frogs become luminous and melodious. The flies seem an Egyptian plague, and get mortised into the oily butter, which holds them like bird-lime.

Having requested some communication on the subject of farming, and other matters, in Pennsylvania, from a friend, possessing great experience, I was favoured with

the following heads, which contain much information in a condensed form.

[440] 1*st. Pennsylvania.*— The land is of the first quality, and the best farming in the United States is found here. The climate is of a medium temperature, but the extremes meet as in the other states.

2*nd. Crops.*— The average produce is sixteen bushels, per acre, of wheat; other grain in proportion; but the crops are very subject to the Hessian fly and mildew.

3*rd. Fruit.*— As in the other states, it is inferior to that of Europe, and no dependence is to be placed on crops.

4*th. Garden.*— One acre of land in England, produces more vegetables than five acres in the United States, taking the year throughout. N.B. This matter has been most grossly misrepresented.

5*th. Grazing Land.*— During five months in the year, there is no pasture for cattle.

6*th. Price of Land.*— Varies from 50 to 100 dollars with improvements, that is, with a good house and barn.

7*th. Timber.*— Sufficient exists at present; but should the population increase rapidly, it will become a scarce article.

8*th. Game.*— Scarce; which is generally the case through the States. No country in the world is worse supplied with game, and in a few years the game will be entirely annihilated, owing to the extreme inclemency of the winters, and there being no cover for them in the woods.

[441] 9*th. Fish.*— Taking the States through, the supply of this article is trifling.

10*th. Farmers.*— The generality of this class are Germans of the lowest grade; industrious, but nothing further, and forming no society for an English yeoman. The rest

of the population is composed of descendants of the old settlers and of low people of Irish origin.

11*th. Residence.*— An emigrant requires at the least twelve months. N.B. The United States teem with jobbing lawyers, land speculators, and swindlers.

12*th. Grazing and stall-feeding cattle for market.*— This line might be followed to advantage with a capital of 4,000 dollars, and with what is of more consequence, the knowledge of dealing or trafficking, for without such knowledge the noble would soon be reduced to nine-pence. A twelve months' residence is, therefore, indispensably necessary, for without being fully initiated in the diabolical arts of *lying out*, *swearing out*, *swindling out*, and *thieving out*, ruin is inevitable.

13*th. Society.*— There is none for an Englishman of the old school, who would scorn to tell a lie, or see his fellow man in want.

14*th. Happiness.*— Must be found in your own family; the fruits of your farm will supply every want, and whilst the government of the United States continues as at present, you will be secured in that happiness.

[442] 15*th.*— One matter I had almost forgot, which I must not omit to mention, as you most likely will be asked questions on the subject by many of that most useful and invaluable class, English husbandmen.

1*st. Wages.*— The highest wages given at this time for *harvest* are, 2*s.* 3*d.* per day, English money, and found in provision and bad whiskey.

2*nd. Working hours.*— From sunrise to sunset, full sixteen hours.

3*d. How long does the harvest last?*—About three weeks.

4*th. Is it warm in harvest time?* — Excessively so. The thermometer ranges from 86 to 120. It is impossible to

have a just idea of it without actual experience. And, what is of more consequence, an English husbandman would be more *debilitated* in *three years* in the United States, than in *sixteen years* in England.

5*th. How long in the year can labour be procured?* — About six months.

6*th. Are wages paid regularly?* — Very rarely. Mostly defrauded.

7*th. Then who are the persons that can do?* — A man with a family of hard-working children, possessing 300*l.* sterling, and who should reside twelve months in the States before he purchases land. And it is greatly to be feared that both the emigrant and his family must lay in all the low cunning, and [l]earn to defraud and cheat, as practised [443] here, and entirely forget old English principles and society, or else ruin and misery will be his portion.

8*th. Mechanics.*— Any part of the world before the United States, for, whatever they may earn, they will be sure to be defrauded out of half.

9*th. Wages.*— Not so much as in England, taking the year through.

July 6*th.*— Visited the house of the President, a good, substantial, pleasant abode, but neither so elegant, superb, nor costly as the seats of our nobility. I saw nothing about it remarkable; no pictures, save Washington's; no curiosities, no painted ceilings. The walls are covered with French paper, and the rooms are furnished with French furniture. Its front looks over the Potowmac and Alexandria, down to Mount Vernon, through a vast extent of Southern Virginian scenery. A favourite English butler shewed us all, and regaled us with good biscuit, brandy, and sherry.

7th.— This morning the Hon. Thomas Law, accompanied by Mr. Elliott, made me a call in return for mine. He very politely regretted his absence when I called, and invited me to come and spend a day or two with him at his farm, for the purpose of concluding the conversation now commenced in the following words.

Mr. Law.—"You, Mr. F., saw my farm and garden. They are poor, but I will improve the gravelly hills by carting earth on to them from the [444] valleys. The English labourers sent to me by Mr. Curwen, I have dismissed. They could do nothing but plough; they were stupid, conceited, uncivil, and latterly drunken; whiskey, and the company they met, seduced them. When I began farming I knew not wheat from rye, or rye from barley; but I well know what are the benefits of farming." "You, Sir, pursue it only for your pleasure?" "No, Sir, I want profit." "In the present distressed state of agriculture little profit is to be had." "Truly so; but a paper circulation is wanted. Mr. Crawford fully agreed with me on this point, but disingenuously seceded from it in his report, on which account I have addressed several pointed letters to him, which I will send you as well as my address to the agricultural society of Prince George's county."

"On my return home shall I advise and recommend my countrymen to emigrate here?" "Why, Sir, I cannot answer that question. I have never recommended emigration, nor caused any to quit their country; every thing is strange and unsuitable to English farmers and labourers; he can cultivate with success only by slaves." "Have you, Mr. Law, no regrets at having spent so much of your time in this country?" "No, Sir, none whatever." "What, Sir, none at the loss of that society which you must have had in common with your family in England?"

Here Mr. Law hesitated a little as if at a loss for an answer. "Why, [445] Sir, I once with Lord Cornwallis governed India. I returned and saw my acquaintance sliding into commerce, brewers, manufacturers, and merchants, to be cheated; such a course had no attractions for me, and I was opposed to the French war and other government measures. I therefore determined on visiting and ultimately on living in this country, where I have spent my time much to my satisfaction, never being at a loss for amusement. I write and read, and talk and visit, on the most familiar and friendly terms with my neighbours, with whom I frequently stay all night; and whenever I please, I can without ceremony go and talk frequently and freely with the President, Mr. Crawford, Calhoun, and all the heads of the government, and therefore I have the best society the land affords." "But, Sir, there are the honours and emoluments of England which *must* have been yours." "My wants were then, and have always been, very few. I believe I have always been happier than any of my brothers. As I never knew how to say 'My lord' to any man, I did not seek or want honours or emoluments. I saw my family and friends dependant on the funds which are likely some day to beggar them and many others; a situation from which I fled." "What, Mr. Law, is likely to remedy the diseases of England?" "Sir! England is over-peopled. It is not wholly the fault of the government. A famine will be the remedy." "Could not the surplus population [446] be transported to the colonies?" "No, Sir. A famine is the only remedy." "But, Sir, is not a famine calculated to plunge the country into a dreadful political convulsion and revolution?" "It is, Sir, but the government is not blameable."

"Morally considered, or with respect to morals, do

you not think the population of this country inferior to that of England?" "The people in the mass are here more intelligent. You now see them at the worst time. You see them *generally* acting unworthily and meanly, but their poverty and not their will consents. As to slaves, they steal." "And they have a right to steal," said a third person. I answered, "They, to be sure, have been robbed on a broad scale." "Why, Sir, the friends of slavery insist on it that slavery is essential to the existence of liberty. To what conclusions will they not come?"

"Is there, Mr. Law, no aristocratical feeling in this country?" "Yes, Sir, amongst the black population." "You mean, Sir, amongst the masters of blacks?" "Yes, Sir. You, Sir, have visited Mr. Birkbeck?" "I have." "Is he not a very pleasant, intelligent man?" "He is highly so." "What is he doing?" "Fast spending dollars." "Had he raised any produce?" "None." "Why?" "He had been, he said, occupied in settling his neighbours, who together with himself have been supplied with provisions from Harmony at 100 per cent. above their value; but cheaper, they have [447] said, than they could have then and there raised them." "I, Sir, do not approve of going into the wilderness away from market and society, while land is to be had with both. What is Harmony?" "It is a most flourishing settlement, and indeed the only flourishing one I saw in the wilderness. What think you, Mr. Law, of the climate?" "Why, Sir, as Lloyd says,

> "With things at once so hot and cold,
> I can no friendship hold."

Mr. Law talks in an oratorical manner, and with an energy of action which makes him appear much in earnest.

He is full to overflowing, and quite inexhaustible. "His worth," says Mr. Elliott, "is not one-tenth of it known, but is thrown away upon this country."

"It is said, Sir, that the population of this country is systematically unprincipled, and almost without virtue." "That, Sir, is not true. In the cities, since the commercial distress, the people seem dishonest. The commercial demand from England, and the withdrawing a paper capital by this government, have driven the people to desperation. They are unjustly done by. They were once esteemed good customers. A circulating medium only is wanted to heal the breach. In the country the people are anxious to meet their engagements." "Do you, Sir, think that no remedy but famine remains for England?" "No, Sir! no other." "Then the sooner it comes the better." "But, Sir, (said he) [448] such confusion, and horror, and calamity, will characterize the catastrophe as the world has not seen." "Do you think it will exceed the French revolution? Will the people of England be more bloody and heartless in such a struggle than the French?" "The desperation of their situation will make them so. Consider, Sir, the rage, anguish, and collision of so many starving millions, screwed up into a space not larger than our state of Virginia. Here, Sir, we have plenty, and whether sleeping or waking are safe in our houses, and liberty and prosperity are secure. You, I find, are deputed to collect information. Dine with me on Monday, and I will get my sons out to meet you."

Mr. Law finding that I wished a protection or special passport from the British minister, Mr. Antrobus, went and applied for it, but did not succeed, it should seem, because I was acquainted with —— on the black books of the government. "Mr. C.," said Mr. Law, "is a very

intelligent man, but I find he carried things with a high, offensive hand in England. He, I believe, Sir, wrote the Watchman and alarmed the church and the Bishop of Ely."

Mr. Law seems not to like the radicals. "When," says he, "I came to this country from India, it seemed at first like going down to the grave. I seemed buried. Tell my family that I drink daily rye-coffee and whiskey."

[449] Recipe for making rye-coffee, equal to the West Indian, after Mr. Law's fashion. Swell the rye in warm water before you roast it.

8th.— I received the following letter from Mr. Law.

Saturday, 8th July, 1820.

Sir,

I wish you, if you see Mr. Elliott of the Patent-office, to desire him to come and dine on Monday. If you can visit me early, I will shew you the neighbourhood, and in conversation you may obtain whatever opinions I have formed from experience respecting this country. It is most desirable that correct information should be given to those who are necessitated to seek an asylum here.

An European ought not to travel far into the interior, as he must sacrifice every comfort during life. Want of society, want of hands, want of a market, want of medical aid; in short, almost every want is experienced for many years; discontent soon destroys the harmony of associates, and former attachments to those left behind have double power to excite regrets.

The Americans are a migrating race, and quit their farms to seek rich back lands; but more of this when I have the pleasure to see you.

Yours most obediently,

T. Law.

Sunday, 9th.— By appointment, I breakfasted with Major Young, 45 years from Ireland, and [450] from the first an enthusiast in the cause of America, throughout the revolution up to this time, having been the companion in arms of General Washington, and appointed to the honour of delivering Lord Cornwallis his discharge from his parole of honour. His lordship graciously received it from the Major at his house in London, much pleased that he was not compelled to return to America to discharge his parole, having been exchanged for Mr. Laurens in the Tower. "Major," said his lordship, "I feel obliged to you and others, and will hold myself under obligation to serve you at any time." The Major gave him an opportunity, and was served. Mr. Laurens, while in the tower, was consulted by a friend of Lord Hillsborough, the minister, on this question: "What, Mr. Laurens, would you, as a friend to America, advise England to do at the present juncture." "Why, Sir, the experience of ages proves that an ounce of honey is worth a ton of vinegar." His lordship on hearing this, in great rage rejoined, "America has had too much honey; she shall have more vinegar."

Mr. John Law, during the attack on Washington, served in the United States' army as a sergeant; but after the British got possession, he laid aside his uniform, and telling the British officers that he was the nephew of Lord Ellenborough, invited them to his house, where they spent a joyful evening together.

[451] *10th.*— By Mr. Elliott, I was introduced to Major Roberts, at the public department of engineers.[153] I was

[153] Isaac Roberdeau (1763-1829), came of a Huguenot family. His father settled in Philadelphia, and was a general in the Revolutionary army. Isaac became an engineer, and assisted in laying out the city of Washington (1791). In 1813 he was appointed a major and topographical engineer in the regular army, and superintended the survey of the boundary between the United States

accompanied by Mr. John and Mr. Edmund Law, two natives of Asia, to the seat of their father to dinner, where we met Mr. Carter, Mr. Elliott, Colonel Heb, and his friend, a Cantab. Our dinner consisted of lamb, ham and chicken, and blackberry pie, with claret, brandy, and whiskey, the latter 15 years old. Here was all ease and no ceremony. Every guest seemed as free as if at home, and eat, drank, and talked as he pleased. As this dinner was on my account, Mr. Law placed me on his right hand as his guest. The two Asiatic sons of Mr. Law seem generous, kind-hearted, and most intelligent young gentlemen, free from all aristocratic pride.

Mr. John Law, during our ride to dinner, observed that his father's objection to slavery was rooted in mere prejudice, because, though he might buy slaves, he could emancipate them when he pleased. I told Mr. Law, their father, what they said of this prejudice. "Aye," said he, "call it what they please, I am acting from a good and proper motive. Wherever there are blacks, the white population is seen to decrease. The blacks will free themselves in the south; their resistance and insurrection will be horrid and irresistible; the free states will never stir an inch to oppose the blacks or to assist the planters, who have no feelings in common with the farmers and [452] people of free states. The former oppose domestic manufactures, because they think England can give them more for produce than their countrymen, and therefore they are willing that their countrymen should be drained of money for the support of British manufactures."

Free blacks, in all the above states, are an especial

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and Canada, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Ghent. In 1818 he organized and was made chief of the bureau of topographical engineers in the War Department.— Ed.

nuisance, because they are deemed the cause of insurrection amongst slaves, and act as brokers to them, or receivers of whatever the slaves steal.

Birkbeck and Flower became the theme of the evening. Mr. Law, and all present, regretted that they did not settle in this, or some populous neighbourhood, where they might have lived as the most distinguished citizens, and at a much less cost than now. They might have visited and been visited by the President, and all the heads of departments; had a town and country house, plenty of land, increasing in value, and good markets; plenty of comforts of all kinds; farms, houses, orchards, gardens, and every convenience formed to their hands, at less than the cost of improvements, so that the land is a gift into the bargain. What madness to go into the wilderness! Their land is not advanced in value by their mere residence on it. They might have invested money, on land, in the best western neighbourhoods, and, without sacrificing themselves, their posterity would have reaped the benefit, which must be slow, but which is sure to come with population and population only. [453] They thought that land must increase in value in the west, forgetting that there was an infinite supply at the same price; and, besides, how could they be sure that settlers would follow and give an advance. It was madness so to spend this short life. They ought to have known that working Yankee families, who do all the labour themselves, are the only proper pioneers. Gentlemen-farmers should not remove into the west, until they can live and do better there than here. At any rate it is time enough to go when they can be the third or fourth buyers of farms; when they can have the improvements at less than the cost, and the land nearly into the bargain. Society and visiting, so indis-

pensable to such intelligent Englishmen, they might here have cheaply. "I entertained (continued Mr. Law) the President and heads of departments, and 100 friends besides, to dinner, at this house, on such a dinner as we have had to-day, and a little light wine, and the cost of all was only 40 dollars. My good neighbours, it is true, sent me hams and rounds of beef, ready cooked, because they thought I should find it difficult to cook for so many. If I were in England, I must have my Lord ——, and others of the same rank; all must be splendid, costly, and pompous; but all this is not the hospitality which I like and find here. Here we go and come, as, and when we please; no previous notice is necessary; [454] we give and take freely of such things as we have, and no one is inconvenienced. In England a house is alarmed by the arrival of an unexpected visitor. As neighbours and visitors we are all equal, and share good things in common."

We walked through the large garden, where Mr. Law boasted that he should have 2,000 celery plants for market at 12½ cents each. All farmers send their garden produce three times a week to market. "What I send (says Mr. Law) pays the expense of the gardener, and puts 100 dollars into my pocket, exclusive of my butter, which furnishes me with butcher's meat, &c. My farm, at present, does not, but it will, more than support my establishment."

He has two women, one white, one black, two or three negro children, and five or six labourers hired at from eight dollars to twelve dollars per month, most of whom are to leave in winter.

At eight o'clock the company departed, except myself. Mr. Law pressed me to stay and spend a day or two longer, so that we might visit Colonel Heb next day, and see the neighbourhood.

We were seated together alone, on the lawn, in the cool of the evening, until ten o'clock, when Mr. Law, with a light in his hand, kindly conducted me to my bed-room. During these two hours we talked freely; first, on the state of England, which, he says, must fall in a few years. "With [455] such a debt, and so many drones, and having all the world rivalling and excluding British manufactures, and with such a superabundant population, it is impossible that she can long exist in her present condition. A famine must certainly sweep away superfluous millions. It will be brought about, first, by a scarce year, and secondly, by the want of specie to pay for foreign grain; for specie only will do, when manufactures shall not be wanted in exchange for grain. Then the British people, instead of lying down and dying willingly like the Hindoos, a scene which I witnessed, will rise with an irresistible fury, sweeping all authorities before them." "After such a storm, will they dispense with monarchy, &c.?" "No, Sir, I think not. King, lords, and commons, seem acceptable to the people. The church and the debt only will be annihilated. My friends and others in the funds see that this catastrophe is coming. They are therefore unhappy. I see they are eaten up by anxiety; I am happier than any of them. Many of the rich, and several of my friends and family, live on the European continent, to spend their money in ease and peace. They are all unhappy in their prospects. It is true that I have been unsuccessful in my speculations here, but my wants are few. I was advised by General Washington to invest my money in and about this city, which every one then deemed a good speculation, and it would have been so but for the stupidity and blundering [456] ignorance of this government, which by diminishing the currency, has reduced our

estates 50 or 60 per cent. and rendered all unsaleable. There is no money for use. It is impossible that a people can flourish without a circulating medium; a floating capital, which creates a fixed capital. This government, however, will see the need of it and resort to it; for, if the capital once in circulation had remained so, the public lands would have doubled their present value, and the industrious have flourished instead of sinking into ruin. The poor and industrious are the only proper objects of the care and protection of government." "You knew Paley. What think you of his philosophy, &c.?" "I knew him well; he was a good man, but his philosophy is false. Utility is made its basis; but impulse and feeling furnish the best moral guide. Every feeling in man points him to goodness." "But, Sir," said I, "is not his philosophy in accordance with Christianity?" "Perhaps it is." I rejoined that I could not help revering it, and that after reading it I thought myself both wiser and better. "That may be." "You knew and esteemed Sir Wm. Jones in India. Was he not a Christian?" "Why sir, Lord Teignmouth has endeavoured to make him appear so; but he was a free thinker, and unusually vain. Instead of studying his duties and introducing good laws, he was ambitious of learning all languages, and of being a finished antiquarian and poet. He fell a victim to his intense [457] application. He would never travel, except by night; the sun must not see him. He once travelled through my district by night, and I accompanied him. At sunset he would inquire: 'Is my enemy down?' If answered, 'Yes,' he would then start."

"Did you see M. Volney,[154] during his tour in this coun-

[154] For a short sketch of Volney, see Flint's *Letters*, volume ix of our series, note 121.— Ed.

try?" "I did; he came, introduced to me by General Washington, and spent some days with me; he spoke our language well, and was a very wise man."

11*th.*— Mr. Law and myself rose about sunrise. I walked, while he was engaged in writing some materials or arguments for my journal. He writes with great velocity.

After breakfast we rode to the pleasant farm of Colonel Heb to dine, where, with his lady and family, we met a young Cantab, and his lady, who sweetly sung and played for Mr. Law on the piano, with which he seemed enraptured.

We then viewed the Colonel's estate, consisting of 600 acres, of hill and dale, 90 of which are meadow irrigated, and which produces 2,000 dollars in hay annually, while the tobacco [155] crop is [458] commonly worth from 100 to 150 dollars an acre. Here is a marl bank, by which the Colonel has improved the estate, which, including its first cost, employs 20,000 dollars, and nets, from 12 to 15 per cent. It is cultivated by from 12 to 20 negroes, who seem happy and well treated, singing and working merrily. The Colonel thinks slaves are better off than free-men. All slave-holders think so, especially those idle men who keep them merely for hiring out, that they may live entirely by the labour and breeding of blacks. Free blacks, in a slave state, are most of them unhappy.

Mr. Law thinks that Colonel Heb saves little or nothing from this estate, after deducting the expenses of hospitality, education, and other out-goings. Part of our

[155] From the seed of the best species of Maryland tobacco received from this gentleman, my neighbour, Major Smith, of Somersham, in England, has, unaided by art, planted and manufactured tobacco, of a superior fragrance and flavour, and which he introduces to his friends on special occasions, when it is used as prime Canaster from Havannah.— FAUX.

dessert, at dinner, was strawberries, which, during the summer, bear fruit continually, each month yielding a fresh supply. We quitted this hospitable abode at seven, p. m., and, on reaching home, resumed our conversation till bedtime.

Mr. Law said, that when last in England, he visited his brother, the now Bishop of Chester, then living on a small benefice, at Kelshall, near Royston, where all the neighbourhood seemed dissenters. "My brother did all he could to please them, but they would not come to church. My brother did not like it, and feared that his congregation would be reduced to the clerk and his own family. Indeed it seldom was more. [459] What a nest," said Mr. Law, "is the church for hypocrites. All churches are evils, especially when they condemn a difference of opinion, and compel the dissenters therefrom to support the church. Religion is matter of opinion; all have a right to think freely thereon. I wonder how my brother got preferment, when I know he was refractory, and could not submit to the pride and domination of Lord Ellenborough."

"The convulsion in England," says Mr. Law, "will not last long, but it will be horrid; it will sweep away the drones. I saw my friends spending their days ingloriously, and descending to the grave, sick of themselves, and without doing any good to the world.

"My good brother, the Irish Bishop, the most learned of our family, came from Ireland, purposely to see me. He is now dead. There is no independence about bishops. They only seek preferment."

Mr. Law repeated to me some satirical lines which he wrote against the * * * * * * "These lines his lordship feared should be shown. He made peace

with me and gave up to me. His lordship said, 'I must give up to Tom, or he will expose me to my brother lawyers, and I shall become their butt.'" These lines represented the * * * * * * as the perfection of pride, and seeking to be Chancellor, being already one in insolence.

[460] "You have not, I suppose, at any time, directly or indirectly, formed a part of this government?" "No, Sir, I would see them at the d — l first." "Is Mr. President Monroe a man of business?" "Yes, Sir. The Presidents are all slaves to their duties, scarcely able to breathe abroad or take air." On passing by the Capitol, I said, "Does this sumptuous Capitol accord with the plainness of republicanism?" "No, Sir, but laying stones one upon another rarely injures any nation; and besides, republics are vain, and public buildings gratify their vanity, and attach them to the country. Inasmuch (said Mr. Law) as this government has left unprotected the manufacturers of the country, and withdrawn the circulating medium from the people generally, it has done all which an enemy to this or any country could do, or wish to see done." I asked Mr. Law if it was worth while to visit Mount Vernon. He said, "Mount Vernon is inviting, but Judge W. knows nothing."

12*th*.— In our ride to the city this morning, with a negro behind us, two gentlemen, Mr. Law's neighbours, overtook us, but being anxious to get on before us, apologized for leaving us. "Oh! gentlemen!" said Mr. L., "we do not want you to wait for us. Go, I pray you, to the devil if you will!"

At parting with Mr. Law this morning, he promised to send me letters of introduction to his [461] Right Rev. Brother, the Bishop of Chester, and his distinguished

cousin, J. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P. which letters, together with the following curious observations, purposely written by him for the use of this journal, were soon after transmitted to me.

Observations by Mr. Law.—"I have lately perused an address to the public from the delegation of the United Agricultural Society of Virginia. If, after repeated perusals, I had been convinced that the exclusion of such foreign manufactures as we can make ourselves, by legislative measures, such as high duties or prohibitions, would be injurious to agriculturists, I should immediately acknowledge my acquiescence in their reasoning. To oppose the opinions and arguments of such able men, and of such united members, exposes any one to the imputation of vanity, and to inevitable ridicule, should his reasoning prove inconclusive. I have always been an advocate for permitting men to pursue their interests unobstructed by governmental interference, according to the suggestions of their reason, and to seek future salvation according to the dictates of their conscience; and I have always been convinced that men will employ their capitals and industry in that business which produces most profit. This is, indeed, an incontrovertible axiom in political economy; and the only question to determine, is whether the exclusion of foreign manufactures be [462] not a salutary exception to the rule. The delegation above mentioned, accuses the petitioning manufacturers of soliciting a monopoly. A monopoly, according to my definition of the term, means an exclusive privilege in favour of an individual, or a certain class of men, in preference to all others, who are injured thereby. Now to me it appears that the duties or prohibitions solicited, are solely for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and for

the discouragement of foreign ones; nay, in my opinion, it seems a request in the name of all Americans, to be shielded from foreign monopoly. This observation will at first surprise you, but after my explanation it will, I trust, have more verisimilitude in it than you can now imagine. Suppose a sovereign to say that in a certain county, or department, he would make a donation of capital for building machinery, &c. to those who would establish a certain manufacture. Should any other of his subjects attempt rivalship, with his, or their own funds, could not those, who had their capitals gratis, undersell the competitor or competitors? Say that the buildings and machinery cost 100,000 dollars, and that 50,000 dollars, current capital, were required to pay workmen, and buy materials. The former aided by the sovereign, if they made ten per cent. on their current capital, would receive 5,000 dollars per annum, but the latter, if he obtained only a [463] profit of 5,000 dollars on his 150,000 dollars laid out, would only receive three and a third der cent. Now the foreign manufacturer has a capital from his father, which is useless to him, if not employed. Say his buildings, machinery, and 50,000 dollars current capital, produce him 15,000 dollars. If he finds foreigners, who heretofore purchased from him, attempting to set up for themselves, will it not be good policy in him to reduce his profits two thirds, to ruin his incipient rivals? Mr. Brougham, in the House of Commons, used the following language, when speaking of the loss to merchants by an excessive exportation of manufactures:— *it was worth while to incur a loss, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things.*

"Would it not have been humane and judicious in Congress, to have prevented this ruinous glut, which contributed, with the order to resume specie payments, to crush our manufactures, merchants, and storekeepers, and to injure our farmers, &c.? How have foreigners obtained above 30,000,000 of our stocks, but by manufactures? The importation of manufactures is now much diminished, and manufactures are rising, and the price of labour falling. Will, however, any prudent man commence manufacturing till shielded [464] from a glut? Our manufactures, till then, cannot prosper, and we must remain dependent on foreigners. If all men relied upon handicraft, as formerly, then the general rule, before alluded to, would apply, and we might be supplied by home-spun. Were all patriots, the nation would prefer home-spun, if even a little dearer than foreign articles of a similar kind; but, as many will prefer their own to the general interest, the general government must, in respect to foreign commerce, interfere. The farmer in England obtains from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a bushel for his wheat; our farmers obtain 4*s.* 6*d.*; the manufactures in England amount to about 100,000,000*l.* sterling; ours, to less than that amount in dollars.

"The distress occasioned by the sudden reduction of our circulating medium from 100,000,000 dollars, to 45,000,000 dollars, has reduced all property far below its intrinsic value; the banks are prosecuting to recover sums loaned, mortgages are foreclosed, and landholders in debt are compelled to sell. When an European purchases land in the western countries, he has to clear and fence, and to build house and barn and stable, at a great expense. In the old states, as they are termed, the land is sold at so much per acre, and the house, barn, &c. are thrown into the bargain. Land, from four to eight miles

from this city, may be averaged at twenty dollars an acre, ready to [465] be occupied. Navigation is near; the market is near; the newspapers, as essential almost to an Englishman as his breakfast, may be received three times a-week by market-carts. Society is good; the expense of a long journey, and a thousand inconveniences experienced by new settlers, are avoided. Horses and oxen, I believe, can be bought cheaper in this neighbourhood. If a man wants to remove his family and to sell, he can find purchasers more readily than in the western wilds. Sickness almost always occurs on the first exposure of new land to the sun. State taxes and county levies fall heavily on settlers in a new country, requiring public buildings, roads, bridges, &c.; labour is dear, and not always attainable. A New England man succeeds in a new country, because he is a jack-of-all-trades; he can make his own log-house, mend his cart, &c. There is an old adage, that "fools build, and wise men purchase." Suppose 150 acres, purchased in this neighbourhood, at twenty dollars an acre, making 3,000 dollars, the fencing, and building, and clearing, would cost at least that sum. When three or four Englishmen wish to purchase together, they ought to keep it a secret, and to employ some American, not in high life, who can be confided in, to sound persons wanting to sell; for if a stranger offers to buy, it is immediately reported over all the neighbourhood, and prices are raised, and it exaggerates the value. Americans are remarkably shrewd. [466] Englishmen, in general, are credulous and sanguine. All bargains ought to be legally formal, under signature and seal.

"Question. Is great Britain capable of sustaining its national debt for any length of time?

"There are operating against the possibility of this,

1*st.*— The rivalship of manufactures of other nations, knowledge and skill not being an exclusive advantage.

2*nd.*— The encrease of poor-rates, by a superabundant population, and reduction of wages.

3*rd.*— The augmentation of payments abroad to British residents, who avoid taxation by removing to foreign countries.

4*th.*— The transfer of sums by the timid and enterprizing, who, foreseeing embarrassments at home, make purchases abroad of stock and lands. The British funds yield less than five per cent.; the French and American yield six.

"These four causes, combining against British prosperity, almost preclude the hope of supporting the immense load of taxes. The army cannot, with safety, be much diminished, for as discontent increases with the addition of burthens, the power of the government must be increased. It is surprising that the "tight little island" prospers as it does; there cannot be a stronger proof of a good internal management.

"The industrious classes cannot support, in [467] any community, more than a certain proportion of drones. The important question is whether the army, navy, state creditors, hierarchy, servants, residents abroad, tax-gatherers, &c. can be supported by the industrious. The rapid increase of poor rates, evinces that a nation has arrived at its acme.

"The arrival of monied men in this country, to purchase lands and to avoid an apprehended convulsion, is ominous of the approaching crisis. It is painful to forebode misfortune, and an unwelcome task to predict evil. Could I anticipate improvements similar to those of Arkwright, &c. to be long exclusively enjoyed, and were there lands

still to be cultivated, to support augmenting population, I could indulge the hope of liquidating the debt. At present I behold an inverted pyramid, propped by machinery, which is giving way. Your own journey, your own inquiries, must make a forcible impression, that present profits are precarious, and that happiness is alloyed with apprehensions for the future."

13*th.*— During a conversation this day with Dr. Thornton, of the post-office,[156] he observed that this city, like that of ancient Rome, was first peopled with thieves and assassins, and that, during his residence in it, he had found more villains than he had seen in any other part of the world. When he was a magistrate, such instances of unblushing villainy and want of principle amongst the people [468] had come to his view, as he could not suppose existed any where. "There are, however," said the doctor, "many good men now in it." There is a disposition generally amongst the citizens to live above their income. Persons who live as independent gentlemen, often run into debt with their butchers, &c., to the amount of several hundred dollars, and delay a year and a half before they attempt to pay, suffering themselves to be dunned continually, always promising payment, but never being punctual in performance, and ultimately paying by instalments of five, ten, or fifteen dollars; a mode of payment from which the meanest man in England would shrink.

15*th.*— I received a farewell visit from Mr. Thompson, late of Boston, who states that he finds the inducements to

[156] William Thornton was educated as a physician, and lived for many years in Philadelphia, where he was a member of the American Philosophical Society. He removed to Washington when the seat of government was transferred thither, and in 1802 was appointed head of the patent office, a place which he held through the remainder of his life. He was also an architect of ability, and designed the Philadelphia library building (1789).— Ed.

emigrate much fewer and smaller than he expected. Society, as it at present exists, shews great want of organization, great want of religion, honour, and virtue, and the country generally seems destitute of English comforts and advantages. Yet he is now about to make a commercial attempt, by way of experiment, which, if not successful, he will return into his former sphere, well content to remain in it, without again wandering five miles from it. He believes that none of the tables in America afford the comforts of an English table. He thinks that the government in its neglect of seminaries entails imperfection on the people. A bitter sectarian [469] spirit prevails, and is more vicious than in England, and there is a miserable, petty feeling of aristocracy. It seems to him that republicanism is suited only for an infant people.

This evening I fook my farewell of the claret club, the focus of liberal principles and of friendly feelings.

Sunday, 16*th*.— Accompanied by Mr. Elliot and the Rev. J. Wright, I drove to Mount Eagle, the hired seat of Ferdinand Fairfax, Esq., on our way to Mount Vernon. This gentleman, an English lord, gave us an introductory letter, penned on the top of a post, to the supreme Judge, Washington, who received us coldly and reluctantly before he read the letter, and said, "I do not like to see people on this day, but you may walk round." He then turned away while Mr. Elliot muttered, "We consider it no act of impiety to visit the tomb of General Washington, and thus to come on pilgrimage to the shrine of your illustrious ancestor." On reading the letter his severity relaxed, and he sent two of his servants to conduct us to the tomb, through the house and gardens, and to point out whatever was curious. The road, through the estate, leading to the mansion, is rough and worn into gullies.

Every thing bespeaks the neglect and apathy of the present owner. The land is poor; the estate is separated on all sides by a rail fence, that is, rails split and mortised into posts; and the gardens are surrounded [470] with evergreen cedar fences, all of which are the work of the late General, for whom every thing here seems to mourn. The house contains nothing curious save the huge old iron key of the French Bastile, kept in a glass case, and the recollection of its being once the abode of General Washington. Instead of carpets, you see Indian matting on the floors. The furniture is mean and common, and was brought here by Judge Washington.

The exterior of the house is of wood, sanded over, in imitation of stone. It suffers for want of paint, while bricks seem falling from the chimneys without being replaced. Here are no pictures of any value. The only likeness of the late General is cut from a Chinese pitcher! The grass upon the lawn and garden, in front and rear of the house, is rotting and seeding down; it is never mown.

The tomb containing the General, and his lady, and brother, and others of this renowned family, might be mistaken for a dog-kennel, or a mound, much resembling a potatoe grave in England. It is situated at the extremity of the garden, and on the brow of a hill. No monument marks it. Evergreen cedars of Lebanon grow thick upon it, a branch of which is often stolen as a sacred relique. I bore away one for the king of England. In like manner did the Russian minister carry one to his Imperial master, Alexander. No pilgrim is forbidden [471] thus to pilfer. The tomb is formed by excavating the earth, and then arching it over with bricks; three feet of earth is then cast on to the arch, which completely hides every thing but the entrance at one end, through a door, formed of half inch

fir board, now rotting away. Such a door would disgrace an English pig-stye. Were pigs to range here, they would soon enter the tomb, which was built by the brother of the late General, the latter of whom is to sleep here until a national grave is made by lottery. Graves and cathedrals are raised, in this country, by means of lotteries!

While seated on this monumental hill, I exclaimed with Gray. "The paths of glory lead but to the grave." Mr. Elliot replied. "Why, Sir, I look on my grave, *already made*, with pleasure, and in the same manner as a weary traveller does to a down bed at the end of a long journey. I anticipate, with joy, the rest which there awaits me." "Such a feeling," said I, "is desirable, but how few the number of those who so feel!"

We were next taken to the green-houses, which in winter, are filled with all species of choice exotics, from all quarters of the earth, gifts to the late General. They now stand out in front of the green-house, with myrtles, oranges, and lemons, ripe, and in great abundance. There are aloes too of enormous size; plantains, mace, and coffee trees. [472] I gathered ripe coffee, which is contained in a kind of rich fruit or berry, of delicious flavor. The pine-apple also bears in the green-house, but it seemed in a withering state.

The approach to the house is marked by negro huts, and negroes of all ages, male and female. In the General's time, all was well managed, particularly the farm and gardens. He, the Cincinnatus of his time, was up early, and always vigilant. Now all is ruin, and ruin personified mourns for him.

The Judge is cold and reserved in his manners, and more than commonly plain in his dress. He seems to be between fifty and sixty years of age, of small stature, and lean

habit of body. His features possess but little expression, and he is, indeed, as unlike the late General, as any man in the United States.

After having seen all we wished, we re-entered the house to thank the Judge, but he appeared no more, simply sending a message that we were "welcome, and he hoped pleased." He is, we were informed, an amiable, good man, but of limited knowledge. We appeared, in his esteem, as sabbath-breakers. On this account he excused his inhospitality to us; and, besides, the saying of the late General, "I would not trust any man an inch beyond my nose, who would set an open example of sabbath-breaking," might rise in his recollection much to our prejudice. I felt the [473] Judge's answer to us as a reproof, because I hold it essential to the good of society that Christian sabbaths should be respected.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of the house and estate is very interesting. The umbrageous mount, on which the house stands, is a mile high from the shores of the great Potowmac, which is here two or three miles broad.

The British, and all the foreign diplomatic personages, visited this spot by water, and with the marine band saluted it with solemn dirges. Our guide told us that none but *great gentlemen* were permitted to see the house and gardens on Sunday. I asked if the Judge preached or kept a parson? He himself reads prayers, morning and evening, and therefore keeps no parson.

From an attentive perusal of the American history, and a close examination of the character of Washington, says Mr. ——, it appears to me that the principal faculty of his mind was judgment, which always led him to avoid the dangers of precipitancy, and the errors which some-

times result from a more vivid and brilliant imagination. The dictates of that judgment constituted the line of his conduct, which was of course marked with the most consummate prudence. This virtue seems never to have deserted him, either as a statesman or a warrior, in a public or private capacity. His prudence and caution were particularly observable in his military career, and, like Pericles, he never [474] willingly came to an engagement, when the danger was considerable, and the success very uncertain; nor did he envy the glory of those Generals, who are admired and applauded, because their rash enterprizes have been attended with success. He had many difficulties to encounter, but these difficulties were readily surmounted. Patriotism animated him, and prudence conducted him to triumph. With a limited education and little patronage, he paved his way to greatness, and by his virtues, cast a blaze of glory around his character, which time can only increase, and which posterity must contemplate with enthusiasm and rapture. There is no parallel for such a man in the annals of the world; so singular a combination of virtues with so few vices. Such disinterested patriotism and such unimpeachable integrity, with so many temptations to swerve and so many inducements to betray, were never before united. Immoveable in the hour of danger, no difficulties could shake, no terrors appal him. He was always the same, in the glare of prosperity, and in the gloom of adversity. Like Fabricius, he could not be moved from the paths of virtue and honor, and like Epaminondas, he made every thing bend to the interests of his country. His country was his idol, and patriotism the predominant feeling of his mind. Personal aggrandizement and individual resentment and interest, were alike sacrificed to this over-

whelming passion, which no difficulty could [475] weaken and no neglect destroy. Washington was reserved, without being haughty; religious, without being bigotted; great in all stations, and sublime in all his actions, whether he moved in the sphere of domestic obscurity, or employed his energies in wielding the destinies of his country. Antiquity would have made him a god. Posterity will make him more. Every nation can boast of its heroes, its statesmen, and its bards, but there are few that have produced their Washingtons. He stands alone in the history of the world, and will be venerated while virtue and patriotism have an influence on human action.

"You will, (says the same eulogist,) no doubt, be astonished to understand, that the remains of this great and excellent man still repose in a humble sepulchre on the estate at which he resided, and from which, like Cincinnatus, he was several times called by his country. The Americans are certainly not ungrateful, but they seem to have an aversion to perpetuate a man's name by "monumental brass," or to express their gratitude by splendid tombs, or ponderous and magnificent mausolea. Your long acquaintance with Westminster Abbey, where the high and the low, the great and the obscure, the good man and the villain, are alike honoured by their country or their friends, may, perhaps, draw from you a burst of indignation, at the imaginary apathy and indifference of this great republic, to the memory [476] and past services of its illustrious dead, but I question whether it be not correct policy. To begin would be to have no end, and the erection of a monument to Washington might terminate, as in Russia, with a monument to a dog. Since the invention of writing, and the present extent of knowledge, the "storied urn and animated bust," have become almost

useless. History will record with fidelity the illustrious actions of him who has deserved well of his country, and his name will be as perpetual as if Pelion had been piled on Ossa, to preserve his memory. It was doubtless owing to the want of this art, that the humble tumuli of the Celts, and the massy pyramids of the Egyptians, were formed; they had no other mode of expressing their gratitude, or of perpetuating the memory of their dead. After all, perhaps, the best monument is "to read their history in a nation's eyes.

"It is but justice, however, to state, that though the American government have refused to erect a monument to the memory of their illustrious hero, his countrymen have not been quite so fastidious; and the citizens of Baltimore, with that enthusiasm and public spirit which have done them so much credit, are now engaged in building a monument that will, at once, evince their gratitude, their patriotism, and their taste. It may be safely asserted, that the Americans pay less attention to the depositories of their dead, than almost any other nation. [477] They seem to be no sooner laid in the earth, than they are forgotten; and the tear of sorrow, and the hand of affection, neither bedews nor decorates the sward, under which the friend, the parent, or the relative reposes. Among the ancients, you will recollect, this was a part of their religion, and we owe to the tenderness and affection of a Corinthian nurse for her deceased charge, the rich and splendid capital which beautifies the Corinthian shaft. It is in vain to look into the burial grounds of this country, for the pensive cypress, or the melancholy willow, the virgin weeping over the urn of her departed lover, or the mother hanging over the grave of her darling child. No flower blooms, bedewed with the tear of affection. All is

waste and dreary, and dead as the sunken grave over which you pass; and a few stones, on which are engraved the name and age of the deceased, are all that remain to manifest the affection of the living, to those who have passed away and are no more.

"Bushrod Washington, the present proprietor of Mount Vernon, is the nephew of the General. He seems to be about 60 years of age, is below the middle size, and apparently nervous and feeble; his complexion is pale and cadaverous, but his countenance has the lineaments of benevolence and good nature. He has long been one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States, and has, during that period, discovered no deficiency [478] in his acquaintance with the law. His decisions are, I believe, generally correct, though not very remarkable. I know not whether he ever was distinguished for his eloquence at the bar; but little seems to be known of his powers as an advocate or a lawyer, and that little does not tend to place him much beyond the grade of mediocrity. Satisfied with the reputation which the fame of his uncle, the situation he holds, and the wealth he possesses, cast around him, he feels no motive to exertion, and no desire to render himself illustrious by his own efforts. He appears to be one of those men to whom the pleasures of the domestic circle are more seducing than the fitful, though captivating splendour which surrounds the temples of the statesman or the warrior, and he prefers what the world would term the inglorious repose of domestic felicity, to the feverish agitation and sickly turmoil of public life.

"Mount Vernon has become, like Jerusalem and Mecca, the resort of travellers of all nations, who come within its vicinity. Veneration and respect for the memory of the

great and illustrious chief, whose body it contains, lead all who have heard his name, to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of patriotism and public worth, and to stroll over the ground which has been consecrated by the repose, and hallowed by the ashes, of heroism and virtue. A twig, a flower, or even a stone, becomes interesting, when taken from the spot [479] where Washington lived and died, and no man quits it without bearing with him some memento to exhibit to his family and friends."

17*th.*— I was revisited yesterday and to-day by Mr. Law, who, in speaking of my new acquaintance Mr. Fairfax, says, "he is an amiable, good, and learned man, but like Charles II. 'he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one.' He is ever unprepared to protect himself from cheats. This gentleman is the great great grandson of the famous Sir Thomas Fairfax, Cromwell's favourite general; he was once the richest man in America, but exchanged 100,000 acres of Virginia land for the same quantity in the west country, which he was told abounded in iron, silver, and other mines; he thus parted with a substance for a shadow."[157] "He still," says Mr. Elliott, "possesses 100,000 acres, and one of the warmest and truest hearts in the world. He was brought up at Mount Vernon, a favourite of General Washington's, who predicted great things of him." But, says Mr. Law, he has long been living in prison bounds. His lady lamented to us on Sunday her want of a carriage, and the hot walks she had to make to town. This gentleman's brother, Thomas Fairfax, Esq., commonly known as Lord Fairfax, who, in his own right is a British peer, possesses large unproductive estates, and lives frequently in disgrace, but both, though lords in England, would feel themselves

[157] See *ante* (volume xi), note 25.— Ed.

[480] highly insulted were they so to be addressed here. Both are staunch republicans.

I yesterday added to my acquaintance a lord-chancellor, a lord, and two princes of the Ossage nation of Indians, who with two other chiefs, last week, went in state (naked) to the Secretary of war, and stamped, and said, in great anger, they came not here to be cheated out of their lands. They are fine dignified fellows, speaking only their own wild language.

Mr. Law, during conversation this day, observed that if this government would, and he believed they would, adopt his financial system, the people here would soon flourish again, and every wild spot become a garden. "Mr. Crawford, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, although he has recommended a contrary measure, is exactly of my opinion. We are both as much alike on this subject as pea to pea."

I said, "Mr. Law, would not a visit to England be agreeable? Would it not tend to lengthen your life?" "O, Sir, it would, but I could not now live in England; I must be active, and doing that which I deem for the good of mankind. My opinions would run counter to the powers which be." "But, Sir," rejoined I, "is it not our duty to be prudent and to seek the peace of the land we live in? Because in its peace we shall have peace."

"Certainly! such is the duty of every good man. [481] Why should he sacrifice himself and family? Mr. A——, your envoy here, seems suspicious of you on account of your acquaintance with Mr. ——. I am sorry Mr. —— should have given such toasts at the dinner on the 4th of July, in favour of the radicals. What have the radicals to do with America? These toasts will be sent home by A——. Envoys have nothing to do but to watch the conduct of British subjects and give reports. I am sorry

that Mr. ——, who is a good, kind-hearted, polite man, should thus expose himself, and you, and other friends, to suspicion and misrepresentation."

19*th*.— I received the following letter from Mr. Law, addressed to me at Mr. ——'s.

Washington, 18*th July*, 1820.

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a list of garden seeds; if you will make a statement of the probable amount, I will pay now, or answer your draft after the purchase. A pound or two of Swedish turnips and of Norfolk turnips may be added. I shall be happy to pay every attention to any of my countrymen coming here, and to give them any information in my power. I regret that I formed your acquaintance so late. My hay turns out better than I expected, and I hope to have four or five acres of turnips, as I am sowing between my rows of corn. Any farming information I shall be very thankful [482] for. I remain, with wishes for a safe and speedy voyage,

Your most obedient servant,

T. Law.

Pray write to me by what vessel you send the seeds.

The following letter from Edward Meacher, gardener to Mr. Law, is a specimen of the easy freedom and familiarity of Yankee labourers. It is addressed

To Thomas Law, Esq.

July, 1820.

Sir,

Considering my ill behaviour towards you the other day, I consider myself culpable; therefore to prevent such like trouble in future to you, I shall declare upon oath against spirituous liquors, such as brandy, rum, gin, and

whiskey, *except three drams in the course of each day*, as long as I live with you. Three drams a day will not injure my health or temper. Upon these conditions I expect not to displease you in future, which will be a cause, I hope, for you to encourage me in your employment.

Sir,

From your faithful servant,

EDWARD MEACHER.

[483] 20*th*.— This day I bade farewell to Washington city and America, and to all the bright and vivid spirits I found in it.

21*st*.— In company with Mr. E. Dumbleton, and my wicked, beautiful, silver grey squirrel, a native of Maryland, whose brushy tail is his nightcap, and who eats razors, buttons, bibles, &c., and is therefore sentenced to transportation for life, I embarked on board the good ship *Minerva* of Boston, to Amsterdam bound, and from Alexandria sailed gently down the great river Potowmac.

After a passage of about 30 days, we arrived at the Isle of Wight. Here I had the honour to present my most gracious Sovereign with a precious relic — a cedar-cane cut from the grave of General Washington; together with six gallons of "elegant, mighty fine claret," purposely sent on a Yankee voyage of 10,000 miles, to ripen for the use of British royalty.

[484] CONCLUSION

HAVING reached home, partially recovered what seemed irrecoverably gone, my long lost health, and told my story, there seems little or nothing to add, except a few retrospective observations, summarily bearing on the preced-

ing descriptions, opinions, and decisions, which throughout are frankly and fearlessly rendered, chiefly aiming to enlighten the ignorant, and to abash the wicked. "But," says the reader, "to emigrate or not to emigrate? That is the question!" It is easier to propound than to answer this inquiry. To seek a refuge from danger, and to fly from the coming storm, is on the one hand in accordance with one of the first laws of nature; and on the other hand, it may be said, that to abandon our hearths, homes, and altars, because our country mourns and is in trouble, is cowardly. That numbers have gone, are now going, and will continue to go, is certain; for when there is a surplus population, and the hive swarms, what shall set bounds to the free-born? To those, then, who are inevitably destined to roam, friendless, homeless, really lone strangers in a strange land, and to see their old, much-loved homes, and the tombs of their fathers no more, I would say: Study the preceding well-meant pages. I know your wants and feelings. Study, then, I [485] would say, by every attainable qualification, principle, and sentiment, to fortify your minds, and make yourselves all which you ought to be. Plague not yourselves nor the land of your adoption, by importing and giving perpetuity to home-bred prejudices. A nest you will find; but every where, like that of the nightingale, a thorn within it. Learn, therefore, yourselves to forget, and as far as in you lies, teach your posterity also to forget, and to remember only what they ought to remember. A British origin will be ever honourable in their heraldry. This is well worth remembrance, and may they never stain, never dishonour it; but into whatsoever lands they wander, may they seek the good and peace of that land, for in its good and peace they shall have peace themselves!

To those whose disgusts and moral and physical dis-

abilities point them homewards, as prodigals to the house of their fathers, the broad Atlantic, in the words of the Hon. J. Q. Adams, offers a highway for their return; having undergone a process by which they shall, perhaps, learn the vast sum and value of English homes and comforts.

The old family quarrel has evidently made the natives of both countries somewhat incommiscible; else how is it that the French, Dutch, Germans, Irish, and strangers of any other land, are more acceptable to America than the children of the common parent, Great Britain. For to the latter the most distinguished Americans have heretofore [486] proudly traced their pedigree, unless some rank and cancerous blemish was in the root and core of it. Hence all grades blush not to own and call her mother, though she is denounced by many, and it must be owned with some justice, as an unnatural parent. But those events have long since become matter of historical record, and it is not good policy to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, from generation to generation. Let both countries wisely learn to think correctly of their several governments, and kindly of each other. Peace and goodwill, in all their fruitful ramifications, will ever bring more silver dollars to the one, and more golden guineas to the other, than fire-ships, torpedos, battles, blazing cities, and heroes covered with glory!

"Well! I guess, after all," exclaimed a Yankee friend, "it is a good land with small faults; necessary evils; seeming evils; good in disguise." "Yes, it is a good land," rejoined another, in love with it at first sight, "mine eyes have seen it for myself, and not another. I am fascinated with it. My return from it would be impossible, but for the adamantine chain which binds me to my country. My heart tempts me, but my duty forbids me to break it."

Hasty conclusions like hasty matches, are rarely happy, and so it was with our enthusiast; for in less than two years of patient trial and perpetual travel, he very gladly returned to his native country, joyfully repeating,

[487] ——— "Whoe'er thou art,
Cling to thy home. If there the meanest shed
Yield thee a hearth and shelter for thy head,
And some poor plot with vegetables stor'd,
Be all that heav'n allots thee for thy board,
Unsavoury bread, and herbs that scatter'd grow
Wild on the river bank, or mountain brow,
Yet ev'n this cheerless mansion shall provide
More heart's repose than all the world beside."

Finally; were, however, America, of which I now perhaps take my leave for ever, every thing that the purest patriotism could make it, yet the climate is an evil, a perpetual evil, a mighty drawback, an almost insurmountable obstacle to the health, wealth, and well-being of all, except the native red and black man, the genuine aboriginal, and the unstained African, for whom alone this land of promise, this vast section of the earth, this new and better world, seems by nature to have been intended. Otherwise, it is argued, would noisome pestilence annually desolate its cities and districts, and every where unsparingly and prematurely people the grave? In spite, however, of climes, tropical or changeful, torrid or frigid, and of constitutional predisposition to sickness, health, physical and moral, is much more at the command of mankind than she is generally supposed to be. Temperance, abstinence, and exertion, approximating to labour, in free air, are the essential handmaids to health, and enable a man to laugh at doctors, and to withstand the effects of climate. Hence, then, [488] in whatsoever climes, stations, or circumstances, my reader may be found, let him learn to think health worth a sacrifice. To persons, whose fortune it may be

to encounter the risks of this dangerous and debilitating climate, I would especially say: Let ablutions and affusions of pure, cold spring water, become habitual with you, and as a beverage, let water be substituted for wine, whiskey, and alcohol in all its forms. Let milk supply the place of tea, coffee, and other stimulants; and let tobacco, snuff, and all the family of narcotics, be abandoned. Surely health is ever, what a late venerable friend of his species was often wont to call her, *the Sugar of Life.* He who thinks and acts otherwise rarely finds health, and never deserves her.

FINIS

Welby's Visit to North America, May 5, 1819 – May 10, 1820

Reprint of the original edition: London, 1821

Log Tavern, Indiana

A

VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA

AND

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN

ILLINOIS,

WITH A

Winter Residence at Philadelphia;

SOLELY TO ASCERTAIN THE ACTUAL PROSPECTS OF THE EMIGRATING AGRICULTURIST, MECHANIC, AND COMMERCIAL SPECULATOR.

BY ADLARD WELBY, ESQ

South Rauceby, Lincolnshire.

"Nothing extenuate—nor aught set down in malice."

LONDON:

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1821.

TO THE
RESPECTABLE PART OF HIS COUNTRYMEN
RESIDING IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AS BEING THE BEST JUDGES OF THEIR TRUTH
THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS
ARE DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

EVER since the period of our war with North America, which ended in the independence of the United States, the attention of Europe has been intensely drawn to that portion of the globe; and many Philanthropists have entertained sanguine hopes that the declaration of Independence was the commencement of a new era of radical improvement to mankind — that the old Governments of the world, full of abuses, and unable to stand before the light of the new Republic, must soon fall before it; and that from America would triumphantly arise the Genius of true liberty, to glad and improve the condition of the nations of the earth. So ably were the whole negotiations conducted on the adverse side, both before [viii] and after the war, by a few shrewd and determined minds; and so effectually was the war concluded by a Washington, that the people of the old continent fancied the new one must be covered by Statesmen and Warriors, and hailed the approaching amelioration of mankind from the bright examples these were to send forth.

'Tis true the subsequent conduct of the Republicans, both to their leaders and towards ourselves, did not tend to keep up the admiration which had been raised; yet, other causes — the late events in Europe, having brought governments there into great difficulties, and multitudes of the people, from the intoxication of a short-lived prosperity, eventually to drain the cups of privation and poverty, many of these naturally turned their attention to other countries; and leaving their own, sought on foreign shores those comforts they had lost at home. American liberty again became the theme of a class of politicians

among us; travellers of inquiry again went out to make observations; published their accounts, mostly of flattering import, and in consequence, [ix] ship-loads of emigrants from all the countries of Europe were constantly arriving in the ports of the new Republic.

One of the latest among the crowd of travellers who thus have set the fashion of emigration (Mr. Morris Birkbeck) has published his account, and has met with the greatest success in influencing the minds of his countrymen; — his "Letters from the Illinois," and previous "Journal," are written in a plain concise style, and yet dictated at the same time by an unperceived romantic sanguine temperament which always gives so beautiful a colouring to nature, and produces a work most fascinating to the mind.

These favourable accounts, aided by a period of real privation and discontent in Europe, caused emigration to increase tenfold; and though various reports of unfavourable nature soon circulated, and many who had emigrated actually returned to their native land in disgust, yet still the trading vessels were filled with passengers of all ages and descriptions, full of hope, looking forward to the West as to a land of liberty and [x] delight — a land flowing with milk and honey — a second land of Canaan.

To inquire into the truth of so inviting a prospect as that held up by Mr. Birkbeck and some others, and in part to relieve the mind from evils of a domestic nature, the Author was induced in the year 1819 to embark for North America: he took in his hand the flattering accounts in print in order to compare them with his own actual observations; with the intent either to add his confirmation to the favourable side, or otherwise to exert his utmost to undeceive the many of his countrymen misled by specious reports.

With these views the journey was undertaken, and the annexed pages are the result; in perusing which the reader is requested to observe, that he will not find, strictly speaking, an emigrant's guide through the country, (although there are hints which it is hoped may be found useful,) but chiefly facts and reflections for consideration previous to going thither under the inducements held out by Mr. Birkbeck and others: — These hints, the Author is conscious, have not been conveyed [xi] in the most pleasing form, but he trusts, that if the matter be found important the manner will not be looked upon with the severity of a critic's eye.

To the Americans the Author wishes to address a few words, in order to assure them that, in the following observations, he has fully intended to guide his pen by the spirit of his motto: nor does he think them at all to blame in not coming up to the perfect model of a Republican which may be mentally pourtrayed; but rather ourselves are wrong in forgetting that they are not only men, but men placed in a new country, with all its difficulties, natural and moral, to overcome. If I picture to myself a giant and find a man of but ordinary proportions, is he to blame for this? Certainly not. The North Americans possess a fertile beautiful country and a fine climate: no one can wish for the improvement and the true enjoyment of these advantages more than the Author; he the more laments the apparent presence among them of a huge portion of blind conceit in their own superiority, and also the absence of the very essential christian principle of good-will and benevolence; [xii] under the influence of which the truly great hold out the hand of good fellowship to the rest of mankind, regard them as brothers, and wish for "peace on earth, good-will toward men."

VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA

THE VOYAGE[1]

MAY 5th. Off Margate on board the Venus, bound for New York. This ship, which was to have sailed on 29th April, did not drop down the river until the 1st instant; and then, owing to an accident which befel the Steam Tug, did not reach Gravesend until Sunday the 2d. We had meanwhile repaired thither, and remained smarting under the extortionate charges of a Gravesend tavern. At length, on the Monday evening, the signal was displayed for sailing, and trunks, &c. having been previously sent on board, we took a [2] long leave of English ground, and proceeded with other passengers to the ship; expecting, like unfledged Voyagers, to find everything in trim to receive us.

When agreeing with the Captain for the passage, I had inquired if there were many other passengers, and was then told there were "*a few*;" previous to going on board the "few" had increased to "as many as convenient;" notwithstanding this hint, so inexperienced were we, that we were not in the slightest manner prepared for the scene presented to our appalled senses on rising the ship's side! Trunks, portmanteaus, packages of all kinds and descriptions, piled in all directions and in every way — a crowd of dirty squalid steerage passengers, which appeared to

[1] The number of passages to America already published might, in the opinion of some, be a reason for suppressing this; it is hoped however, that it will not be found altogether useless or uninteresting.— WELBY.

our magnifying eyes at least five times the real number, (about 80) — altogether formed a mass through which we could not, without much difficulty, push our way to the cabin; and that accomplished, still more horrors presented themselves to view: instead of the carpet and good order which reigned there when I had examined the vessel while in dock, the dirty floor was covered now with nothing but trunks, bedding, and other baggage; giving an effect the most forlorn and petrifying to us all: so that we sat down upon broken chair, box, trunk, or anything we could, and glared upon each other [3] desponding as the fallen angels at their first drop!

Our fate, however, not merited like their's,— no; but we regarded our Captain as the arch-fiend and tormentor, and we gave him looks of reproach which pretty plainly said, "you have entrapped us into your abominable pit this time, but if we ever get out you will not do so again:" — However, I will not suppose he enjoyed our horror, but rather partook a little of the general feeling; for he sat, his eyes glaring as wildly as any of the party until at length, as nothing was offered to relieve the spirits, I proposed a biscuit and some porter, which were brought, and nearly in silence consumed; after which we each turned in for the night, and sought repose.

While engaged this morning writing the above in the cabin, the ship floating easily along under a pleasant little breeze, we suddenly felt a shock, followed by a rubbing along the bottom; the Captain started up, and was upon deck in a moment; the passengers ran in all directions, and the appalling cry "we are aground" sounded on all sides! Happily, though such a mixed multitude, even the females betrayed but little fear, and most of the men

lent every aid in their power; the[4] weather was favorable, and though the ship beat much, the bottom being sand and the tide rising, great hopes were entertained that she would get off. Had it happened in the night and the wind had come on to blow hard, we should in all probability have been lost; being day, we were descried from the shore, distant about ten miles, and boats of fishermen soon arrived to render assistance; but now a long previous altercation ensued between them and the Captain, before a bargain was struck: for a service which they acknowledged would not occupy more than half an hour, they first asked one hundred, and then sixty guineas.— Such is man when the consideration is the property of his fellow! Our lives they did not contemplate to be in danger, otherwise to save them these same men would have risked their own without thought of reward: so let us be in charity with human nature yet. At length, after an anxious interval to the passengers, it was agreed that fifty guineas should be the price for getting the ship afloat; the word was given, and in twenty minutes of alacrity the bower anchor was carried out; the men exerted themselves at the capstern; the ship's head swung round; and after three or four violent bumps of the stern upon the sand she heeled off and swam again. Those who have experienced such accidents may know how people [5] feel at such a moment; mutual congratulations went round accompanied with internal thankfulness to that Providence, whose care is over all.[2]

6th. Off Deal. A lovely morning, well calculated to

[2] The Ship had grounded upon the Margate Sands; always dangerous, owing to their constantly shifting with the tide: just before our own misfortune, we had seen an homeward-bound East Indiaman aground and lightening her cargo into small craft.— WELBY.

remove from the mind the impressions of the preceding day; a clear view of the town; and the French coast also is very visible from the deck.

In order to attain the important objects of health and security among so promiscuous an assemblage, the cabin passengers met at the instance of the Captain, and a set of resolutions was drawn up for the general observance; and a copy being handed to those of the steerage, was acceded to by them and this morning put in force: — by these rules, one captain of the day from the cabin, and another from the steerage were on duty by rotation,— candles were put out at a fixed hour,— the parts of the deck for the use of the cabin and steerage passengers were prescribed; and sundry rules for cleanliness, which were afterwards but ill obeyed: no forfeitures were necessary, as the captains of trading vessels have by law the power [6] of punishment; as far at least as putting in irons for misconduct, and indeed this was inflicted in the course of the voyage, upon a riotous tailor.

Sunday, 9th. Light airs with mist hitherto; wind this morning rather more favorable. Prayers read upon deck by one of the passengers.

We are now clear of the Channel, and drifting upon the vast wilderness of waters, a plank our dependence until we may reach a new continent. To sailors of course, a circumstance so common brings little reflection, but those to whom the situation is new, must confess a sensation most awful and uneasy: certain it is we are equally in the hands of a beneficent Providence, whether we tread the seemingly firm-set earth, or commit ourselves as now upon this immense ocean; but it is in vain for philosophy to disguise — she cannot subdue feeling.

10th. We are now first experiencing a calm attended by a heavy swell of the sea; — the sailors call this "Paddy's

Hurricane," and Paddy was right, for the rolling of the Ship, racking of masts, flapping of sails, &c. render it anything but a *calm* on board.

Of our cabin party it is not necessary to record the views; suffice it, that it consists of three ladies and six gentlemen, besides six children; some for pleasure and health, others for business bound.

[7] The passengers in the steerage are far too numerous either for their own comfort or ours; many of them seem very respectable people, farmers, farm-servants, hop-planters, masons, carpenters, and tailors, with their wives and children. I cannot perceive the tenable policy of throwing obstacles in the way of emigration of such people; as England is overstocked with artisans, and other countries are in want of them, it is surely a mutual benefit; and to prevent individuals seeking the best market for their craft is the highest injustice.

12th. Being fine and calm in the mid-day, the Hold was opened and various packages got up for examination and re-stowage; while this was doing, and loose straw laying about on deck, there was a cry "the Caboose is on fire!" This only occasioned a momentary panic, as *luckily* no harm arose from it; the chimney was foul, and some fat taking fire had communicated to the soot, and from thence nearly to the main-sheet.

This day we took up a cask which upon tapping proved full of excellent brandy; it was covered with barnacles, and had probably been floating four or five months.

15th. A Hawk of a small kind, resembling the Sparrow Hawk of England, was this morning caught in the rigging; the nearest land being supposed above three hundred miles renders this an [8] extraordinary circumstance: we also saw yesterday a large brown bird pursuing a Gull, and understood its name to be Rump-poke. An appropriate

appellation, as it pursues other birds for their droppings, which it catches as they fall and feeds upon.

18th. We have experienced so many head winds and calms that the spirits of all, not excepting the Captain, are cast down,— two thousand five hundred miles yet to run. Yesterday a lady a cabin passenger, was safely delivered of a boy her first child.

22d. Favorable breezes. A quarrel between the cook and a sailor, in which the former knocked out three of the latter's teeth with a billet of wood; and for which he underwent a severe *cobbing*.[3]

24th. Two Whales of the Grampus kind rose near the vessel. At 7 A. M. a large fish was seen to pass the ship tormented by a shoal of small ones; the Captain ordered the boat down, went out, struck it, and it was got on board; it proved to be a Sun-fish that weighed one hundred weight and a half: it was quickly cut to pieces, dressed, [9] and eaten by the ship's company and some of the passengers; the flesh very white and firm.

SHIP COOKERY

Anything but clean,— anything but simple,— anything but what one is used to.

SITUATION OF A PASSENGER ON BOARD SHIP

Some risk,— little comfort,— a total inversion of all accustomed habits,— a feeling of insecurity,— irritability, — a longing to be ashore; in short, a total *be-blue-devil-*

[3] *Cobbing* is a punishment inflicted by tying the culprit to the windlass, when each man in turn gives him two or three blows with the flat side of the carpenter's saw.— WELBY.

ment at times, with a few hours of pleasanter colour just to keep hope alive.

The ignorance and simplicity of some of the passengers are greater than might be supposed; one said the other day he supposed we had five hundred miles yet to go, and another asked me if America was mountainous.

26th. A tremendous wave broke over us, giving the ship such a shock as laid her down on her side. Great was the confusion; trunks thrown upon trunks, tables, chairs, all forced from their [10] mooring, in spite of bolts and ropes; we were glad to find however that, excepting the fracture of glasses and crockery, no material accident had happened to any one.

About this time an account of each steerage passenger's stock of provisions was taken, and though but three weeks out, several were found nearly exhausted; so improvident had they been.

The following list of sea stores is recommended as sufficient for a steerage passenger.

42lb. Beef or Pork.
56lb. Cabin bread (biscuit).
14lb. Flour.
7lb. Cheese.
4lb. Butter.
1lb. Coffee (ground).
½lb. Tea.
10lb. Sugar.
¼lb. Pepper.
1lb. Salt.
7lb. Split Peas.
Bottle of Mustard, about 1s. 6d.
100 Eggs.
2 Bushels of Potatoes.

A few red Herrings.
2 Quarts of Vinegar.
[11] 4 Dozens of Porter.
1 Gallon of Spirits.
Some Carrots, Turnips, and Cabbages.
2lb. Soap.
Some pieces of Tobacco-pipe Clay, which will be found to rub well with sea water in cleansing the skin.
A Tin-pot with cover, in shape like a coffee boiler, with a hook at the side to hang upon the bars of the Caboose grate.
Crockery, Spoons, &c.

A passenger provided as above will not experience want in any common passage, and indeed there are some articles with which he may dispense; as, for example, the Porter; and others he may lessen, as the Potatoes *perhaps*. With respect to medicine, it may be as well to provide some Epsom salts and magnesia, and a few lemons will be found highly grateful; otherwise the ship always carries a chest containing the common remedies.

31st. The wind blew what the sailors call a strong breeze, which is in fact a gale, from the west; the ship laboured much, and such was the impression upon the minds of many of the steerage passengers, that at night they took leave of each other, thinking it not likely the vessel should live through the night.

[12] *June* 1st. With the prospect of a protracted passage, an inspection was also judged necessary of the ship's cabin stores; and such waste and extravagance was proved against the Steward, that it was resolved to take into our own hands the ordering of each day's provisions: a meeting was consequently held, an account of stock taken; and ordered, that one of the party by rotation should superintend each day's consumption of food; and also of water, which had likewise been used very extrava-

gantly. Let those going a voyage not only ascertain their *sort* of Captain but their *sort* of Steward, upon whom I can assure them a very material share of their comfort will depend.

The general subject of conversation now is, calculating the probable duration of the passage; yet it is essential to comfort during a voyage to abstract the mind as much as possible from such reflections, and to engage it as much as in us lies in some useful studies and occupations — 'tis one of the worst to watch the winds and the waves; 'tis one of the most useless, for we cannot command them.

We are, it is supposed, approaching the great bank of Newfoundland: as much doubt exists as to the accuracy of the dead reckoning of longitude, (and we have no other,) our anxiety is great [13] to ascertain the passage over the bank, by which a new departure may be taken.

8th. It is now the general opinion, in which the Captain coincides, that we have passed, without knowing when, the great Bank; the weather is warmly tempered by a fine S. W. breeze, and the ship is wafting us delightfully over summer seas: hope again "tells a flattering tale" and conversation runs chiefly on what will be done, and what will be had, on our arrival at the much-desired Port.

Last night the full moon exhibited, through a heavy mist, an appearance of several rings of the prismatic colours,— a beautiful effect, which I remember once before to have witnessed in England.

11th. Spoke the brig Spring, of Blyth, homeward bound; and had the no small satisfaction to find that her calculation of longitude nearly agreed with our own late suppositions.

This morning the extraordinary conflict between the

fish called the Thresher and a Whale was seen near the vessel; the Thresher repeatedly raised itself on the Whale's back, so that its tail was nearly upright, and struck the Whale violently with it on the head; it is said that the Pilot-fish is at the same time wounding him underneath with his sword-snout: they did not however succeed this time, but relinquished their pursuit at the noise [14] which the people made at the extraordinary spectacle. The Thresher appeared to be about six or seven feet long.

16th. A Shark seen in early morning: and a large Sword-fish swam majestically round the ship's bow, probably taking it for a Whale; but finding his mistake he dropt astern, and soon after a shoal of small fish, perhaps endeavouring to avoid him, rose completely out of the water; — his length was about nine feet as we judged, and his form and colours beautiful. Several kinds of birds have lately been seen; among which we viewed with pleasure the "Hagdown" as the sailors say it is always seen on or near soundings; it is about the size of, and somewhat resembles, a Duck.— Many Porpoises too have lately passed us; one of these the men struck, and succeeded in getting it on board, when it was soon cut up and eaten; we were prevailed upon to taste it, and must acknowledge that it could not have been distinguished from a fine beef steak; the gravy was indeed richer.

18th. The events of the voyage have lately been harassing and pregnant with danger; three officers have kept reckonings of longitude, and all have proved erroneous; the ship has headed them considerably, and, when we little thought of our danger, has been near wrecked upon one of the dangerous shoals off Nantucket; the grave of [15] many a good vessel. Our escape was providential: during breakfast, the Captain, with seeming

presentiment, suddenly went upon deck while the lead was throwing; he made the next cast himself, which he had no sooner done than he let it go — gave the word "'Bout ship"— ran himself to assist, and notwithstanding the great confusion, it was quickly effected;— the steersman called out "What point?"— answer, "Out as you came in," and in twenty minutes we had deepened again as many fathoms! Had this happened during the night, or had the sea been rough, we should, in all human probability, never have been heard of again. It was conjectured, that we had been upon the edge of what is called "Fisher's Rip," and the water when the ship was put about had suddenly shoaled to less than three fathoms.

We stood a southerly course until midnight, in order to avoid the breakers which lie out forty miles south from Nantucket; and then tacked again.

19th. More alarms,— yester-evening the Boatswain suddenly called out "shoal-water!" the line was immediately thrown, but the depth proved twenty-five fathoms: at half past nine P. M. one of those storms which are I suppose frequent in this new world, passed over us, and most awfully grand was its transit. At eight P. M. the ship was just put about under a [16] clear serene starlight,— not five minutes had elapsed when we heard great noise and confusion upon deck, and running up saw the sky covered with the tremendous cloud-storm; throwing its black mantle across from E. to W. and dipping its points like wings into the opposite sides of the horizon. The sails were flying in all directions, and the men clueing them up as fast as they could, while the ship was turning round at the mercy of the whirlwind; providentially, the extreme violence of the storm passed above us, and even while we beheld it, the dense vapour seemed to vanish from

the sight instantaneously; leaving upon our minds the effect of enchantment.

Six o'clock P. M. not yet quit of terrors; another storm, the extreme force of which we have again been spared, has just past over, but its effects continue; it rains violently, and lightens incessantly.

Sunday, 20th, four A. M. Land at length seen on starboard quarter, which proved to be Long Island: the sun arose and brought with it a day and breezes the most favorable, under which we ranged along the coast of the Island, at about seven miles' distance, having a view of it which imagination made delightful. Various schooners, brigs, and other shipping are in view, working [17] different ways, and our recent alarms are forgotten in the beauty and grandeur of the scene.

Before night we passed Sandy Hook, were boarded by a pilot, who took us up the Bay about six miles and then cast anchor for the night: once more then surrounded by land, the outline of which was indistinctly seen by the aid of an azure sky thickly studded with stars, we at length retired to rest, and undisturbed by noise slept profoundly.

21st. The ship dropped anchor again opposite the Quarantine ground, where it was necessary to undergo an examination of the births previous to obtaining permission to gain the much desired Port. A party of us took this opportunity to go on shore, and after seven weeks' confinement to enjoy again a walk on land. We procured clams, oysters, milk, new bread, &c. loaded with which we returned well pleased on board. The houses here are chiefly frames covered with boards, having lean-to sheds roofed like the houses with shingles, the best being made of cedar; under these sheds the inhabi-

tants sit and enjoy the cool breezes, unannoyed by the scorching rays of the sun: cherry and peach are the principal trees around these dwellings, except the weeping-willow and formal Lombardy poplar; these last one would suppose the least likely [18] to be cultivated in a country where shade is more a necessary comfort than to be called a luxury.

This morning in working up to the Quarantine ground, we passed a schooner, or rather the remains of one (for it was a mere wreck,) which had suffered in one of those black squalls that had passed over us; she had only a stump of a mast left, to which her remaining sail was tied.

22d. After some difficulty in obtaining the permit for our departure from the Quarantine hospital, (which the filthy state of several of the steerage births amply justified,) we at length weighed anchor for the last time, with a favourable and light breeze, affording leisure to admire the beautiful surrounding scenery of the Bay, and soon brought-to off the city of NEW YORK; — an officer of the customs came on board; he appeared a very respectable man, and behaved very politely to the passengers; at the same time was strict in his duty and superior to a bribe.[4] Our fees at the custom-house on clearing were altogether half a dollar and twenty [19] cents: on leaving England we had paid the Captain for doing the same for us three pounds. This was probably *good pay* for the trouble, and indeed I should recommend every passenger not to be above managing this affair for himself, if he values money.

[4] Let me here caution any passenger against offering money to a custom-house officer on this side the water; they are well paid, and do not take money, as in other countries, to betray the interests of the government, that they may live.— WELBY.

23d. The heat of the weather in the city is so oppressive to English constitutions, that we have established ourselves across the river, on the Jersey shore, at a very pleasant place called Hoboken; — here we pay 7$ per week each, for board and lodging, and have a quick and pleasant communication with New York by steam ferry-boats every hour during the day to and from it.

On entering our present boarding-house to inquire their terms, &c. we encountered the first striking specimen of the effects of freedom without refinement; upon asking for the Landlord, a young woman who was sweeping the floor slip-shod, desired us to walk into a room she pointed to; where, she said, we might wait for further orders!! We did as we were ordered, reflecting on this contrast to a good English inn where, upon the traveller's arrival, from the Landlord down to "Boots,"[5] all are immediately [20] upon the alert ready and willing to attend to your wishes.

One reason for this want of attention in the American servants is, that they are paid wholly by their employers, and expect no compensation from their guests; though, I have since seen enough to convince me that this praiseworthy custom is gradually wearing away, and that in general the servants will not refuse a fee when offered.

Called at a working cutler's near the post-office, to purchase a pocket knife; he asked two dollars for one which in London would be sold for about four shillings; said he paid rent for his shop alone 400$, and that fuel cost him during the winter seven shillings sterling per week.

The Americans at New York have not made a favourable impression upon me: almost every face expresses the game of desperate speculation. I am told that this is

[5] The charge here, at any one of the City taverns, for cleaning a pair of boots, is a quarter dollar (13½d. of our money).— WELBY.

owing to the general distress of mercantile affairs consequent to the late war with England; and also the effects of the French revolution, felt upon both continents, but in a much higher degree in America, as that country was less able to bear up against it; — the people here like those of England were beyond measure extravagant under the deceitful prosperity, and they now doubly feel the dreadful re-action. Besides, like ancient Rome, here is the asylum of [21] the desperate and discontented of all nations: — Will the period arrive when, like the former, this modern Rome shall rule mistress of the globe? It is, if I may venture to judge, at all events very distant; they must first gain the necessary qualities for the attainment of such an elevation; at present, of these they are nearly destitute. But to return to my journal.

Business here, with the exception of a few respectable houses, is conducted on an apparently slovenly plan; clerks at their banks look like our tavern waiters in deshabille, and the bankers themselves not in appearance so respectable as our clerks.

The town is handsomely built, and several things constantly remind one that here the people rule, and their convenience and comfort are studied: the footways for example are in general twice as broad as ours, in some instances taking up at least as much of the street as that set apart for the carriages; and the hackney coaches are not only neat but *elegant* in our sense of the word, and both drivers and horses equally superior. In a late publication,[6] it is observed that the goods in the stores are set out in a slovenly manner; [22] my own observation is that their shops or stores are apparently as good, and the stock

[6] Mr. Fearon's.— WELBY.

For a brief note on Fearon, see Flint's *Letters*, volume ix of our series, note 119.— ED.

as well shewn as in many good houses in London: their coffee-houses and dinner-rooms in the best lodging-houses are even superbly fitted up, very much in the French style: the Tontine, the City, and the Bank-coffee-houses are three of the first; and a person may now dine at any one of them, I believe, for three dollars and a half per week, and fare sumptuously upon turtle, &c. every day; — wine is but little drank, or any other liquor indeed, either at or immediately after dinner by Americans; the reason for this, as given to me by an American, seems good — "We consider dinner as a sufficient stimulus" says he "without adding wine or spirits to it."

The business of the courts of justice during the summer is done in the evenings and nights; the great heat of the weather in the day time absolutely preventing any number of people from collecting together without danger of fevers, particularly such persons as compose the witnesses, auditors, and attendants in a law court.

Mr. Fearon states, that forgery of bank notes is unknown here, for, that the execution of them is so excellent (I write the sense of his words from memory) it renders it too difficult to attempt.— I can affirm that there was scarcely a store I [23] went into at New York, but they could shew me several; and so well executed, it was impossible for me to see any difference between the valid and the forged note.

A DRIVE TO THE FALLS OF THE PASSAIC RIVER, JERSEY STATE

Leaving Hoboken on the Delaware, we proceed along a good road with some romantic scenery of rock, wood, and water, through the town of Hackensac to the village

of Paterson; where we found a good tavern and an attentive Landlord, a very remarkable character in the United States: after dining at the table d'hote, which was very well provided, we set out to walk to the falls, a mile distant, under a burning sun, which made it appear at least two. The beautiful clear stream of the gentle Passaic here suddenly rushes down two perpendicular fissures in the granite rock; making a grand fall at each, of about one hundred feet, into a capacious basin beneath; from thence recovering, it murmurs along a stony bed a mile or two, when resuming [24] a placid course it winds through a country thickly settled, the inhabitants chiefly Dutch and Germans; and gliding by the towns of Belville and Newark finally mingles its waters with the Delaware. The views near Belville, and on the road to it on the banks of the Passaic, are very fine: but the whole way the black population were so numerous as to be quite oppressive to the eye unaccustomed to it; every house we passed presented a group of black heads huddled together glaring at us: — But the beautiful Passaic has floated us away from its falls too soon; we must just return thither to say that we ascended by steps made for the purpose to the top of the rocks, from whence the river is precipitated. Here are some wide yawning clefts of great depth, and one of them occasioned a dreadful catastrophe not long before our coming: a new-married couple accompanied a party to the falls, and after admiring the tremendous broken and precipitous rocks and chasms, were returning in order to descend; when the bride ran back, as she said, to take a last view, and heedlessly going too near to the edge of the yawning cleft fell into it in sight of her husband, who in vain rushed to save her — she was seen no more!

On returning to the tavern at Paterson, I asked the

little shabby bare-footed boy, our guide, [25] whether he worked at a wool manufactory we were passing, "No," said he, rather bluntly; "I go to school; my father's a 'squire:" thinking I did not hear correctly, I repeated the question and received the same answer. "And pray what is a 'squire, what does he do?" "Oh, he attends sessions, trials, and hears causes." "And what may your father do at other times?" "He *assists* Mr. ******* at the tavern there, in the bar!"

We returned to Hoboken by the town of Belville; day departed long before we got back, and night came on, its darkness beautifully relieved by the novel effect of the fire-fly, myriads of which were darting in perpetual motion; and in all directions filling the air and the surface of the low grounds with brilliant illumination.

We met on the road many small light waggons drawn by two horses harnessed to a pole, which are here by the country people used generally: in these the farmer and his family travel at a brisk pace and very commodiously; — at a distance I at first fancied a handsome Phaeton approaching, as they drove towards us; indeed, away from the city every one seems comfortable and independent; we see no misery, no disgusting army of paupers, not even a beggar to be seen:[7] we have, however, [26] already discovered that this country is not entitled to a character for cheap living; for many articles, particularly those of luxury, you pay at least as much as in England, the difference consisting in this, (a very material one to the seller,) that here, the whole price of the commodity goes into the pocket; there, a heavy tax is paid in some shape or other out of every article sold: for example, the hire of a gig and horse for the day is here thirteen shillings and sixpence

[7] I have since seen beggars.— WELBY.

sterling; the owner puts the whole of this into his pocket, for there is no duty to government; whereas in England we all know too well that there is an enormous one, besides an assessed tax for both carriage and horse. Wine here, though of course to be bought much cheaper by the private consumer, is charged at least a dollar and a half per bottle at a public boarding-house, though the duty on importation is trifling; in England the price is the same, notwithstanding the high duties. As another instance, washing is done here from three shillings and sixpence to four shillings and sixpence sterling per dozen, of everything indiscriminately; though soap is not half the price it is in England, where the same quantity may be washed for two shillings.

From the above examples, and many more I could mention, it would appear that the man who should emigrate to this country to *spend* an income, [27] might not gain by the change; it is equally evident that the individual who goes to *make money* may be benefited.

4th. Sunday here presents a most pleasing contemplation; the people before united in trade and political government, are now seen shedding out quietly and in utmost harmony, repairing to the places of worship of their several persuasions: the English protestant establishment seems to be well attended; the service with a few alterations, and the (perhaps) well-judged omission of our frequent repetitions, was very impressively read to an attentive congregation. The places for worship are generally strongly and, though plainly, handsomely constructed; yet not perhaps, strictly according with the best rules of architecture.

We cannot but observe a very striking flatness or insipidity of character pervading the population, which is not

perhaps to be attributed to bad times, but to various other causes: I am apt to believe that a large portion bear expatriation with a sort of melancholy feeling — America is not yet their home,— they talk little of it, but much of Europe.

The United States is a theatre on which are met all nations of Europe, each at present attached to the customs they have left there, and agreeing [28] only in the support of religious and political liberty: time alone can wear down their heterogeneous habits into a national character, which many other causes, besides those now enumerated, may at present unite to oppose: the effect is an evident want of energy, of heart and soul in every thing animating to other nations. I am just returned from witnessing the celebration of the anniversary of their Liberty,— such a festival might well be expected to call forth every spark of enthusiasm; but, even then, not an eye either of spectators or actors glistened with joy or animation, the latter seemed walking to a funeral; the others contemplating the melancholy ceremony! Nothing could dispel the illusion but the gay clothes of the female spectators, to which their countenances in general bore a strong contrast.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable impressions however, one could not but at intervals feel gratified; — it was the assembly of a people to commemorate the epoch of their liberty, and *we wished* to discover an elevation of character deserving of the blessing, and to hail them as brothers.

July 6th. Took leave of New York, of which city, perhaps I may have said more than necessary, so much having been published before. By steam boat and land carriage we were conveyed [29] to Bordentown, a beau-

tiful elevated situation, commanding most extensive views, where Joseph Buonaparte at present resides.[8] He lives quietly and hospitably, and, by accommodating himself to the people, exists amongst them undisturbed: — on his arrival he received a mark of attention as uncommon as it was unexpected; a mob at Philadelphia collected to see and welcome him; a compliment he mistook, for not aware of their intention, and supposing it might be to seize and deliver him up, he was with difficulty at length prevailed upon to shew himself and receive their friendly greetings. He is fond of shooting and finds plenty of sport: in the widely spread low grounds covered with brush wood, the Wood-cock and Snipe abound; and the Partridge or Quail is plentiful in the high country. At a little distance from Bordentown, on the edge of a precipitous cliff, and surrounded by wood, forming a pleasing retreat, stands his house.[9]

7th. Much pleased with the scenery during the passage down the Delaware; on its beautiful Pensilvania side many of the houses appeared to be placed in delightful situations: as we floated [30] along the Sturgeon was seen frequently darting upwards at the insects on the surface; he is a fish but little valued here, either because his flavour is not so good as it is with us, or perhaps a *royal* fish suits not republican palates. The spot where Penn first landed in search of a site for his intended city was pointed out as we passed; and soon after came in view PHILADELPHIA, presenting by no means so favourable a coupd'-œil as New York had done.

[8] An account of Joseph Bonaparte's career in America will be found in volume xi of our series, note 36.— ED.

[9] It was burned down, it is supposed by incendiaries, the following winter, and many valuable pictures and much furniture and papers lost.— WELBY.

PHILADELPHIA

Of this city I shall say little at present, but hasten the western journey. Having both read and been told of streets with clear water running along the channels, and of trees planted on each side, affording a pleasing shade during the heat of summer, I confess a great disappointment at finding but very few trees, and no water but green stinking puddles! Indeed, for the credit of New York, I must say that their Board of Health is more active, or the people themselves are more cleanly; for, there no stinks assaulted our noses equal to those we met with here: walking in these streets under the influence of a hot burning sun I have [31] met with the putrifying carcass of a dead dog; from the stench of which I have ran off, while the natives were passing it without notice! We need not then be at a loss to account for their fevers.

Away from the wharfs the streets are in general good, well paved, and laid with fine broad causeways of brick: the handsome flights of marble steps to the doors would look still better if well polished; the marble is white with blue veins, of a good kind, and comes by water about sixty miles, at a cheap rate.

During the hot season, mineral waters, (chiefly soda,) sometimes mixed with syrups, are drank in great abundance; — the first thing every American who can afford five cents (about threepence) takes, on rising in the morning, is a glass of soda water: many houses are open for the sale of it, and some of them are fitted up with Parisian elegance.

Being so attached to water potations it is not surprising that these people should stand in more than usual dread of canine madness; they are dog-mad without being bit:

such is the rage against the canine species that carts are sent round the town both here and at New York every two or three days, attended by fellows armed with bludgeons and spears, with which they kill every dog they meet, and receive I am informed a dollar for each. I had a fine Bull-dog put an [32] end to in this manner, for which fifty dollars had been offered since my arrival; the cold blooded wretches first enticed him, as I heard, towards them, and when he, not knowing fear, came up to be caressed, they despatched him with spears and bludgeons. For this I obtained no redress.

Accompanied Mr. ****** to the handsome public library presented to Philadelphia by Dr. Franklin;[10] and of which his ungrateful countrymen make use, while they are as silent as his statue over the entrance if the worthy donor is mentioned, or if they do speak of him, it is generally slightly; -- the fact is, he was too good and too shrewd for them to understand. I inquired respecting his philanthropic bequest of money laid out at compound interest in aid of young tradesmen, and heard it was properly attended to; though my informer added that several who had been assisted from the fund had not subsequently been fortunate in trade: that is probably according to the old adage "lightly come lightly go," they had spent it instead of attending to business: the original sum was

[10] Franklin did not present a library to Philadelphia, but he is properly regarded as the founder of the Philadelphia Library, which he called "the *mother* of all the North American subscription libraries." Conceiving the idea of establishing such an institution, he drew up a plan (1731), and solicited subscriptions among his friends. By March following, twenty-five persons had paid their subscription of forty shillings each, and an order was sent to England for books. Franklin continued to take an active interest in the enterprise, aiding in selecting books, and from time to time donating volumes. The Philadelphia Library now occupies two large buildings, and contains over 190,000 volumes.— ED.

four thousand dollars, and it has now increased to sixteen thousand.[11]

14th. Visited the Penitentiary: this institution has been so fully described by others that it is not necessary to give more than an additional testimony to the truth of its admirable [33] plan; unfortunately, the prison is at this time so full, (five hundred are in confinement,) that it is impossible to lock up, separately at night, those whose crimes are trifling from culprits of greater magnitude; but a new prison is building which will enable them, when finished, to correct this evil: the utmost cleanliness prevails, with order and industry; indeed, the whole had the appearance of a well-regulated manufactory, in which a regular debtor and creditor account is kept with each individual, who receives, at the termination of his confinement, the balance of his earnings, with which he may be enabled to maintain himself while he seeks honest employment: an excellent regulation. We afterwards viewed the Hospital for Lunatics, where the same, or more attention to cleanliness and every thing conducive to the health and recovery of the patients pervade every part; no appearance of gloom in the building, but all calculated to inspire the mind with ease and comfort. There is a good garden which, besides providing fruits and vegetables to the house, affords a pleasant walk to the convalescent; and in

[11] In his will Franklin left £2,000 (still due him for his salary as president of Pennsylvania) for the improvement of the Schuylkill River. Learning that that work of improvement was likely to be delayed, he made a codicil revoking the bequest to the Schuylkill improvement, and devoting it to a scheme of continuous benevolence—£1,000 each were given to Boston and to Philadelphia; under the direction of a certain board of selectmen, small sums (not exceeding £60), were to be loaned to young married artificers at five per cent interest. He estimated that in a hundred years the principal would be vastly increased, and the greater part was then to be devoted to public works. However, many borrowers were unable to repay, and their security proving worthless, the sum at the end of the first century was far below Franklin's expectation.— Ed.

Little Brandywine, Pennsylvania

front of the building, encircled by a beautiful collection of trees, lemon, orange, pomegranate, &c., stands the statue of William Penn, holding in his hand the Charter of Liberties.

This is not a cheap country for the *stranger*: [34] either boarding-houses or taverns he must be in, (private lodgings being unknown;) and in such establishments the charges are high: but the *inhabitant* must, it would seem, live at a very reasonable rate, as the following prices will shew, and the lowest are not stated: — Meat, good at six cents[12] a lb., excellent Tea for one dollar a lb., Sugar (loaf) for eleven cents a lb., Soap at ten or eleven cents a lb., and other groceries cheap in proportion. Of Wines, Port we buy for two dollars the gallon, Claret one and a half the gallon, Sherry two and a half. Spirits,— good Brandy for two dollars, Rum and Hollands the same.

But we will take leave of Philadelphia for the present — a future opportunity may occur for further observations; and to that chance we will leave it for the more important view of the Western country.

21st. With a strong but light carriage, called here a Dearborn waggon, for myself and party, and a light covered baggage waggon driven by my servant, I left the City about noon of such a day of heat as we had never until lately experienced: in consequence of which my dog, the fine animal above alluded to, ran off in a high fever, and I [35] never saw him again; but he recovered, and came back to the house I had left in search of me, and was taken care of for a few days, when the dog butchers destroyed him. Not to mention the breaking of a three gallon Demijon bottle of good liquor in rattling over

[12] The cent is about the value of one half-penny; one hundred is four shillings and sixpence sterling.— WELBY.

the pavement, another cross adventure happened, which made the commencement of so long a journey ominous;— having sent the baggage waggon forward the first stage, and there happening to be two roads and two inns with the same sign at about the same distance, my man unluckily took the wrong way — we slept the first night therefore ignorant of what had happened to him; however he crossed over, and to our mutual satisfaction joined us the following day. On requesting the ostler to call me early next morning, the drunken old beast told me I might "call myself and be damned." Oh, the blessings of independence! — But I will say this for the Americans, that if during my stay one other oath was uttered it is the most I heard.

24th. At Lancaster, Pensilvania.[13] We left Philadelphia on the 21st, and have travelled through a country well cultivated and still improving as we advanced, until, near this town, it breaks into hill and dale, woodland and pasture, forming the most beautiful scenery, and wanting nothing to the eye but water; actually [36] it is, we are told, exceedingly well-watered. We admired the state of cultivation, observing good crops of red clover-seed, and the wheat stubbles clearly showing that heavy crops had been carried; — the beautiful Indian corn just shooting into ear, green and luxuriant, greatly relieved the eye; the oats alone (not yet harvested) looked short in the straw and bad, owing we were told to their quick ripening and want of rain. The clumsy zig-zag rail fence of the first settlers is giving way to strong post and rail, and in a few spots to the live hedge, which looked beautiful.

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[13] The traveller's route westward was by way of the Lancaster Turnpike and the Pennsylvania Road, through Bedford and Greensburg to Pittsburg. For this route, see Harris's *Journal*, volume iii of our series, note 3.— Ed.

Bridge at Columbia, Pennsylvania

Thus we have passed along the centre of a fine valley of cultivated land, grandly skirted by the primeval forest the whole way; the houses and other buildings in general are excellent, bespeaking the inhabitants to be at least rich in comforts; which are after all true riches. The horses of Pensilvania have been frequently praised: they are indeed excellent; uniting strength of frame with activity, and coming nearest in form to the old English charger as seen in paintings; they are by no means generally castrated as in England. The roads as yet we do not feel inclined to praise, for they are abominably stony and jolting; yet they seem to have been formed at some cost, in some parts, I am told, at least twenty dollars [37] per rod; but no carriage except of the strongest kind (and their construction here is admirable for the purpose,) could last long against the perpetual concussions they receive. It is much to be regretted that in laying out the roads of this new country, the space allotted for them had not been thrice their present width, which would have left an ample summer road on each side of the principal one, rendering it better both for convenience and ornament; but in this and too many more instances the Americans, instead of adopting better plans, and improving by our errors, have servilely copied those of the old country.

To the same lounging idleness remarked by Mr. Birkbeck we too must bear testimony: added to which may be observed a most unconciliating manner of studiously avoiding common civility, arising we suppose from a vulgar idea of shewing their independence. The black population of all shades, from the deepest to nearly white, still appears considerable as we proceed.

Lancaster is a very respectable town, with a handsome court-house, &c. Slaymaker's inn or tavern excellent.

A large manufactory of rifle barrels is carried on here, much cheaper than they can be produced in Europe; a very good rifle may be had complete for twelve or [38] fourteen dollars, clumsy in appearance, but throwing a ball with astonishing exactness. It was market day, and horses, carriages, &c., were among other things put up to auction; the auctioneer, riding or driving up and down the streets, with stentorian lungs proclaiming the qualities of the horse or carriage on sale, and receiving the biddings as he went on: a ranting preacher's exertions are nothing compared with this man's.

29th. At Chambersburgh. From Lancaster, by Columbia passing over the beautiful Susquehannah by a close bridge of one mile and a quarter long, to this town the roads are at present wretched, even dangerous; and the settlers, German and Dutch boors, as abominable. Having broke a buckle of one of the traces, we applied to a blacksmith to mend it, which he refused to do. Night with a thunder-storm approaching, we tied up the harness as well as we could, wasting plenty of hearty bad wishes upon the cursed smith which some poor Irishmen working on the road joined us in, though they could not assist us; and proceeded some distance, the storm still lowering, to a tavern kept by one of the above wretches where we were absolutely refused admittance: obliged to drive on we just got to the door of another, when the thunder in tremendeous peals burst over us [39] accompanied with torrents of rain; here we bolted in determined to be received, and found ourselves in the midst of parties of ill-looking people drinking whiskey and smoking. It was the bar or tap-room, and as no offer was made of a better or safer place for ourselves and luggage, and a little disapprobation being consequently shewn by some of my party, the brute

Susquehannah River at Columbia

Place of Worship and Burial Ground at Ligonier Town, Pennsylvania

landlord, notwithstanding the storm, told us we had better drive on to the next town, if we disliked his accommodations.— Not chusing to be drenched in rain for his ill humour we were obliged to remain during pleasure; until at length I got mine host into better humour, and he gave us a tolerable good supper and beds, though with the usual company of bugs and fleas, and without water for washing, which they positively refused to let us have; observing, we might wash out of doors. This man boasted of being possessed of thirty-five thousand dollars in property, and said, that land now worth one hundred dollars per acre was bought by his father for four dollars.

Tired of such abominable inns and the keepers of them, we have now twice boiled the kettle in the woods and breakfasted upon the contents [40] of our canteen, a plan we have much enjoyed, and recommend to all travellers in this country whose convenience it may suit. The scenery is beautiful, the land pretty well cultivated and finely interspersed with woodland; the harvest, except Indian corn or maize, is nearly got in, and seems to have been abundant. Man alone here stands an object of disgust. How strangely to our circumscribed views does Providence work its purposes! To a rough untutored set of naked savages, another race of little less than savages (clothed savages) has succeeded; who, in all probability, will in their turn give place to a third of some intellect and refinement; themselves driven from their paternal hearths by the insolence of an aristocracy, the intolerance of a state religion, or the craving demands of an extravagant government: these, seeking for themselves and their posterity relief from such evils, will bring into this fine portion of the earth, the letters and refined

manners, which alone it wants to make it perhaps one of the most desirable countries of the globe.

We are now ascending the first range of mountains separating the eastern from the western part of the continent. The grand and ancient monarchs of the forest have only been removed where the road is opened for the passage of the [41] traveller. The Oak, the Chestnut, the Locust and various other trees tower aloft in their prime, while some lie fallen with age, and others, inclining from their aged roots, ready to follow,— emblems these of the lot of humanity!

The heat of the sun, though great, is here tempered by a cool air from the mountains. A man, his wife, and children travelling in their light waggon with one horse, have joined us; they are on their way to Virginia, in which State he lives; he seems to be a good-natured civil being and by no means wanting in humanity in general; yet custom could make him smile at my expression of abhorrence, when he said there was no law practically for slaves in that State, and that he has *frequently* seen them *flogged to death*!

A PENSILVANIAN INNKEEPER

When we drove up to the door, a black or two came to the horses, no master or his representative appeared. We got out and walked into the common entry, and at length I accosted a stranger to know if there was a master of the house, who very civilly said he was in the back part and would perhaps soon come; I then went and called the Independent, who came forward, [42] I told him we wanted breakfast, he just inquired for how many, and then, without shewing a place to sit down, went to order

Widow McMurran's Tavern, Scrub Ridge

it. This man I afterwards could perceive knew what he was about,— the above is one of the modes of shewing to an Englishman their boasted liberty and independence; their vulgar minds cannot perceive the difference between servility and civility. Having a tent in the baggage waggon and every thing for the purpose, we last night escaped these sort of fellows, and their bugs and fleas, by driving into the wood, where, finding a pleasant spot and good water, we lighted a fire, took tea very comfortably, and slept well upon the camp-bedsteads: this, during the hot weather, is by far the most pleasant plan where it can be adopted; but there are some objections to it which cannot easily be got over; it is not always in one's power to pitch the tent in the neighbourhood of good water; the apprehension of the horses breaking their halters and straying is not pleasant; (otherwise, they are quite as well off as ourselves away from American buildings;) and the greater attendance necessarily required from our own servants, both to ourselves and horses is harassing,— another assistant or two would have rendered the plan feasible with comfort and less expence. By the way, it is strange that [43] tavern-keeping should increase in these times, so dead as they say to trade, and consequently one would suppose also dead for travelling; but so it is, taverns are every where building or adding to: what a joyous prospect for the bugs and fleas! Expressing myself at a loss the other day to account for the number of public-houses building, a black man within hearing said he guessed they were preparing for better times — they could just now do it cheaper as hands, in consequence of want of money, were more plentiful: his observation appears just.

August 3d. The weather is extremely hot, and we have

encountered several most tremendous storms of thunder and lightning. The thermometer is now at 88° in the shade with a draught of air at one o'clock; in the sun it is at least 108°. Many parties from various nations and of different modes of travelling are on the road for the West, and we hear of great numbers having passed during the spring and summer, all making towards the great point of attraction the western country.

We have now passed over Cove mountain and Scrub-ridge;[14] the road over both has been lately formed, is judiciously laid, and would be excellent were the stones covered with gravel, or rather were they broken small; as it is, one is shaken to pieces without the possibility of avoiding it. [44] Under this evil we are solaced by the views of grand forest scenery,— the Oak of several kinds, the sweet Chestnut, the black Walnut and Hickory, with here and there tracts of pine, cover these mountains; affording shelter to herds of deer, foxes, rakoons, and also, as we had occular proof, to snakes of various kinds. Throughout the mountains and their neighbourhood you almost universally meet with most excellent water, affording a delicious beverage during the hot weather; the trunk of a tree hollowed out is set up like a pump, with a spout near the top, from which the water, constantly rising towards its level, runs in a clear and cool stream.

5th. At Bloody Run, called so from a battle fought with the natives;[15] here stands a little town pleasantly

[14] Cove Mountain forms the western boundary of Franklin County. The road crosses it about fifteen miles west of Chambersburg. Scrub Ridge lies parallel to Cove Mountain, a few miles to the west.— Ed.

[15] For Bloody Run, see Cuming's *Tour*, in our volume iv, note 18. It is now Everett, Bedford County. The battle was not with the natives, but between a band of enraged frontiersmen and a party of Indian traders who were illegally supplying the savages with firearms.— Ed.

View on Scrub Ridge

situate on the Juniatta river, and containing several useful trades, such as blacksmith, wheelwright, harness-maker, tailor, and draper, &c. We approached it for the last nine miles by a new and excellent road just finishing, which is laid a considerable way along the Juniatta, the banks of which are beautifully edged with woodland. Some alterations and repairs done to the dearborn and the waggon here were charged at the following rate: —

	Cents.
[45] Wheelwright, for two new poles, one great swing tree, and two single ditto	$4 : 50
Blacksmith, for ironing the above (except one of the poles.)	6 : 50
Price of a horse-shoe and putting on	0 : 31½
Ditto, a remove	0 : 12½

We here enjoyed ourselves under the comforts of a good inn and attentive landlady.

10th. At Johnson's tavern, foot of Chestnut Ridge. We have now passed the Allegany mountains, and can affirm that at this time of the year there is little except the stony road very formidable to encounter: the line of it is laid with judgment, and with steady horses and a stout carriage may well be passed over by those who fear not a shaking; that, indeed, they may rely upon. The settlers on the eastern side of the mountains take great pains to deter the traveller from attempting the pass, and even after having surmounted the Cove mountain, Scrub-ridge, &c., I was told of the great difficulties of Laurel Hill; the fact is, it proved the easiest of the whole; nothing annoyed us but the sun, it being about mid-day when we began the ascent.

Much has been said of the expense of travelling in this country, I give therefore a night's bill at one of the better houses, viz.

	Cents.			
[46] 5 Suppers	$1 : 87½			
Lodging	0 : 37½			
Hay for 4 horses	1 : 0			
8 Gallons (1 Bushel) of Oats . . .	1 : 0	£.	s.	d.
	4 : 25	0	19	1½

A night's bill at a good English inn for the same would be double the amount.

AMERICAN WAITERS

A tavern-keeper brought in some wine glasses stinking of whiskey, to which a cloth seemed never to have been applied; out of a pitcher of water he poured some into a glass, just shook it, and then throwing the water into the waiter upon which the wine stood, walked away satisfied with this proof of his cleanliness: and a female the other evening, in order to brush away the flies while we were at supper, flourished over our heads her dirty pocket handkerchief, in the absence of the brush of feathers fixed upon a long stick, which is generally waved over the dishes during the repast. The practice of going barefoot is here very general among working people, particularly the females; it is by no means an uncommon sight [47] in New York and Philadelphia, during the summer season, even in good houses; a custom this, probably, at least as cleanly as that of wearing close shoes and stockings.

12th. At Greensburgh, thirty miles east from Pittsburgh. The country we have lately passed is beautifully undulated, land of good quality interspersed with woodland, worth near from twenty to twenty-five dollars per acre; water plentiful and good.

Our landlord has just returned from a journey to the

western country as far as St. Louis, on the borders of the Missourie territory; his report of the country is not favourable: he says it is very unhealthy, which he ascribes to the woodland, contrary to the general situation of such land, being lower than the open prairie; consequently retaining much stagnant water, the fruitful cause of diseases.

18th. At Hayes' tavern, three miles west of Pittsburgh, in which "Birmingham of America" I had intended to make some stay; but the heat, dirt, filth, and charges made me hasten out of it in search of rest and fresh air to this place.

The town of Pittsburgh[16] stands beautifully, at the junction of the two rivers, and the land around it is of good quality; but its trade is upon the wane, not alone owing I apprehend to the times, [48] but to the town of Wheeling's being better situated for ready communication with the western country, and consequently thriving upon its decay. Pittsburgh has, too, suffered greatly from the extensive failures of the country banks. I met everywhere grave, eager, hungry looking faces; and could perceive, as well as hear complaints of, a general want of employment.

It being near the hour of dinner when we arrived, we joined the company at table, consisting chiefly of constant boarders, who, after a quick and silent repast, vanished; leaving at table two pleasant and travelled men, one a man of law from Boston, (Massachusetts,) the other a gentleman resident in Virginia. We talked of slavery, which the latter defended ingeniously, though not convincingly, by quotations from the sacred writings, St. Paul, &c.; — he owned a numerous establishment of

[16] For the early history of Greensburg and Pittsburg, see volume iii of our series: F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 16; A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 11.— Ed.

slaves, and such was his reliance upon their attachment and content, that he had not the slightest apprehension of danger to his family during his absence: he had come to Pittsburgh to attend a trial, and entertained us with an account of the conduct in court of his Counsel, who, he gave us to understand, was a man high in the profession; neither Counsel nor Judge as is well known, put on here any gown but the heat of the day had induced this gentleman's [49] Counsel first to put off his coat, and not finding himself yet cool enough he got rid of waistcoat also; and then, further to cool his constitution and assist thought, he put a cigar into his mouth, and in this trim paraded up and down the court. The old gentleman, who had been in most parts of Europe, then asked what could strangers, just coming from England, think of such conduct in a court of trial? The glass circulated and in such conversation the time passed agreeably, until, at some general observation I made, the Bostonian fired up and we were as near a quarrel as any prudent people need to be; when the Virginian interposed and succeeded in making peace: however, harmony had been broken and we soon after separated. In the evening, expecting a pleasant drive of three miles, we left Pittsburgh; and, crossing the river by a respectable new-covered-bridge, for which I paid a toll of one dollar each carriage, took a wrong turn on the other side; and after encountering most dreadful roads, and making a tour of above six or eight miles instead of three, arrived by moonlight at the long-looked-for tavern.

At this obscure inn exists yet hearty at the age of eighty-eight years, one of fortune's fools, Captain Fowler, an Englishman late of the 38th regiment of foot; a man who in early life was [50] advanced, solely by merit and strict attention to the duties of a soldier, through every gradation,

until he not only bore a captain's commission, but at the same time received the pay of adjutant and paymaster to three regiments.— Having attained to this rank, the favourite of Lord Percy, General Crosby and other officers of his day, and being in the high road to further honour and promotion, he was induced on the insidious misrepresentations of a sordid brother, to quit all these favours of fortune and come to America: here, at the instance of this relative embarking in one plausible speculation or another, he wasted his fortune; and now wears out the remainder of his days unknown at this tavern, kept by a good-hearted rough Irishman who has become his son-in-law. It is pleasing to see the attention that he receives from the family, which uniting with age and religion seem effectually to reconcile the old man to his fate.

SERVANTS

At this small house are maintained four female and two male servants, yet the house is not half cleaned, and the garden is little else but weeds; litter and dirt pervade the premises, while these Independents will play for hours at ball, or loll [51] over a rail to rest themselves. Behold a true picture-general! How *pleasing* to the lover of freedom to contemplate its blessed effects! Leisure, instead of inducing habits of mental improvement, and cleanliness, leaves them, in utter negligence of both, only to pass half their time in mere idleness and dirt: but why do I speak of the lower order while those, who should set these a better example, pass their days at taverns and other boarding-houses in idle games of shuffleboard and ninepins; or, seated for hours motionless under the shed which is universally attached to the houses, seem to exist

solely to inhale the fumes of tobacco. Truly these people understand not liberty,— civilly, it is idleness and licentiousness; religiously, a leaving them to their wildest fancies.

BLACK POPULATION IN FREE PENSILVANIA

A black girl with youthful spirits was playing with a lad in the town street, when the wheelwright, with whom I was talking while he mended the carriage, said, "if it were not for fear of the [52] law one would be inclined to put an end to that black ——; they ought to be taught the difference between a black and a white, and to pay more respect than to think of associating with them!"— The man spoke really in earnest, and would have thought little of putting the girl to death.

Immediately afterwards I met a white little boy who followed a tall mulatto woman, and with all his little strength was beating her with a stick; at length the woman could bear it no longer, and told him, if she should be *whipped* the next moment for it, she would pull his ears if he continued to do so. The same day, in my hearing a mulatto woman was threatened by her master with the application of the "cowhide" for not bringing the Independent his umbrella quick enough!

NIGHT

From the slight chirping of a few grasshoppers or crickets in England, no one can have a conception of the noise of a summer night here; all the insect tribe seem to open at once and to join in one perpetual chorus, very unpleasant to ears unaccustomed to it.

[53] AMERICANS AND SCOTS

The Pensilvanians resemble in many points the Scots: they go barefoot, they have both some dirty habits, neither have yet very generally erected temples to Cloacina beyond the immediate neighbourhood of great towns. A medical man lately told me that the itch, a disorder which proves uncleanliness where it prevails, was as rife as in Scotland; of drams of whisky and bitters they are equally fond. In cookery the comparison turns in favour of our northern neighbours, who understand it far better than they do here, where it is the most abominable messing and spoiling of provision imaginable: nothing but frying in butter till the stomach turns even at the smell; of vegetables they have but small variety, and of these the sickly tasting beet is a favourite, which they dress in the same disgusting way as the flesh-meat, neither good for palate or stomach.

22d. At Washington, Pensilvania, eight miles west of Canonsburgh: this latter little town stands in a healthy beautiful situation. It has a college in an unfinished state; there are three professorships, viz. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Languages, and Humanity Class, the whole supported [54] by voluntary contributions to which the government have made a handsome addition: at this time there are ninety students.[17] The land about Canonsburgh to this place, is generally of very good quality, and just now may be bought at a reasonable rate; its nominal value, I was informed by one of the students, is from under twenty, to the best about thirty dollars per

[17] A brief account of the founding of Washington and Canonsburg (Jefferson) College may be found in Harris's *Journal*, volume iii of our series, note 31.— Ed.

acre; it abounds in coal, lime, and iron; the first only two cents per bushel at the pit, and laid down at the door for two more. There are many English settlers hereabout, and the shew of improved management was very perceptible. There are some objections however to this part of the country, which perhaps the improvement of roads and canals will in time obviate; it is a distant point from both the great markets for commodities, the Eastern and Western; consequently what they sell is low, and that which they buy is very high.

Washington (Pensilvania,) is a very pleasant, fast-increasing, and of course thriving town, through which the great national western road and six others are laid. The College here too is in an unfinished state; it has now only [55] forty-five students, owing to the dismissal of a favourite president, and the appointment of one not liked.[18]

VIRGINIA

On leaving Washington a few miles, the traveller enters the state of Virginia, which he crosses to Wheeling, a town on the eastern bank of the Ohio. The whole way is in general a fine drive, and in two or three years will be better from the improved roads forming every where as we pass with great judgment and spirit. The National road is a work truly worthy of a great nation, both in its idea and construction; upon it, the traveller will be enabled to pass

[18] In 1816 and the years immediately following occurred what is locally known as the "college war." Reverend Matthew Brown, pastor of the first Presbyterian church at Washington, who had been president of Washington College since its incorporation (1806), was asked to resign, and Reverend Andrew Wylie was called from the presidency of Canonsburg College to succeed him. Much bitter feeling was aroused, to the great injury of both institutions.— Ed.

with comfort, from the eastern coast, westward the whole way to New Orleans; and perhaps by another branch to St. Louis, without being stopt to pay a single toll.[19] This is as it should be; for roads are one of those important works which are scarcely ever executed well by individuals, and which therefore should be done by their representatives, and paid for by the treasury; one is not then stopt every five or ten miles to pay a toll frequently exorbitant; nor would the public be speculated upon [56] by individual proprietors[20] or small companies, who seldom execute these works upon a scale sufficiently liberal.

Almost all the labourers employed here upon the roads are either Irish or English, and it is not certain that these republicans have not a secret pride in beholding the natives of the old world toiling for their benefit; however, the earnings of the men are I believe sufficient to render them in time independent, and I must say they look in general well fed, well clothed and comfortable. We passed one party employed in ploughing down part of the uneven road with a strong machine drawn by eight oxen, while two others drew a large wooden scoop

to shovel up and lead away the ploughed up soil: it appeared to save much labour. The Irish here have not lost in our esteem; two or three times we have been beholden to individuals of that nation for good-natured little services: one of them lately aided me successfully to get along part of the new road where we had met with some opposition; another actually accompanied us about nine miles on a like occa-

[19] For the early history of the National Road, see Harris's *Journal*, note 45; and for its extension beyond Wheeling, see Woods's *English Prairie*, in volume x of our series, note 76.— Ed.

[20] I have often been called upon to pay a dollar for passing over a bridge.— Welby.

sion, not with a view to remuneration, for I could not persuade him to [57] take any thing for his services but some refreshment at the tavern. I heartily return them the good wishes they so frequently expressed as we passed them. One of the above men had acquired some property; he told me that seven years ago he bought land at six dollars per acre, and that he had just sold a part of it at fifty, and some even so high as seventy dollars per acre. The proximity of the new road had increased thus the value of his land.

The beautiful Sassafras shrub is now plentiful, also several others which I in vain endeavoured to obtain the name of; for the people seem almost totally ignorant of the trees and shrubs in their woods.

WHEELING

Is very pleasantly situated on the Ohio, and, standing upon high ground, appears to be healthy; it is also a very thriving town, as a number of excellent buildings and others rapidly carrying up sufficiently testify; among these is a public seminary endowed by a professional man in the law, who, dying without heirs, left amply sufficient to endow it:[21] near to this stands a neat chapel erected by methodists. Two good vineyards [58] are planted here, which looked thriving and, we were told, produce excellent wine.

Without meaning to speak in favour of slavery, I will

[21] The Lancasterian Academy was founded at Wheeling by the bequest of Noah Linsly, formerly a tutor at Williams College. It received its charter in 1814, and is said to have been the first chartered school in a slave state granting free education to the poor. The name was derived from the Lancasterian system of education, founded by Joseph Lancaster. See our volume xi. The institution is now called Linsly Institute.— Ed.

yet state the fact that, during the drive across this small arm of the slave state of Virginia, the white people seemed far more respectable and civilized than in the free state we had just left; almost all we met accosted us pleasantly, as if to welcome a stranger without that rude stare to which we had become accustomed; the blacks, too, appeared to be well clothed, civilized, and comfortable; very superior to the free black population elsewhere seen. We had scarcely crossed the Ohio into the free state of that name, when we found a rogue and rudeness; freedom must at least take honesty for her companion or she is not worth a rush.

STATE OF OHIO

On entering the state of Ohio by this route we find little to interest; a wild uncleared hilly country,[22] which with little alteration continues [59] till you approach St. Clairsville: the soil then is clay; the town well placed and its buildings good and neat; land hereabouts, a good grazing soil, is worth about twenty dollars per acre. We bought here, out of a waggon load, half a peck of peaches for six cents, (3d.) the peach and apple orchards are literally breaking down with fruit; every morning we stop at the first orchard to take in as many apples as we want for the day.

My man experienced an accident, in coming down one

[22] Mr. Fearon says the state of Ohio is one continued level, he must mean that part of it about Cincinnati; the chief part of the state is exceedingly hilly.—WELBY.

Comment by Ed. Ohio is hilly only in the southeastern portion, the part traversed by Welby. He travelled along the State Road, which followed the old Zane's Trace through St. Clairsville, Zanesville, and Chillicothe to Maysville, Kentucky.

of these steep hills, which might have proved worse in its consequence than it did; not seeing him behind as usual I waited sometime for his coming up, and began to feel uneasy about him, when we heard his waggon wheels approaching: one of the horses had broke the hame-strap, which, throwing the pole on one side, had precipitated the waggon and driver into some brush-wood on the road side; — while in this situation, unable to extricate himself, a country waggon luckily came past, and he applied to the fellows with it for aid, which the human brutes refused without *first* being paid for their trouble.— From such contemplations let us turn for relief to the variety of foliage so highly pleasing in this part of the wilderness; we now see the Tulip tree for the first time; the Sassafras grows thickly, and a great variety of other plants and shrubs of which, [60] for want of botanical knowledge, I know not the names.

Several people clothed something like Jews with long beards have passed us at different times on horseback; these, I was told, are a christian sect of charitable pilgrims styling themselves Dunkards.[23]

30th. The weather has been for some days past cooler owing to the falling of some rain, but is again becoming warm. The sudden and violent changes of temperature are at least as frequent on this side of the mountains as on the eastern shores, whatever may have been asserted to the contrary, and rain is almost always succeeded by

[23] The Dunkards, or German Baptists, began to come to America about 1719, joining with the Mennonites in Germantown, Pennsylvania. In general, their belief was like that of the Quakers, save that they observed the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. A sect separated from the main body, and established a monastery at Ephrata, Lancaster County. A considerable number emigrated into western Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley.— Ed.

cold. On the 24th of August in the early morning the thermometer of Fahrenheit was at 46°, it has since been above 80°, but again this morning has sunk to 56°.

31st. The road is covered with dust arising from the great number of horses, waggons, &c. conveying people from a methodist camp-meeting just held in the neighbourhood, at which it was calculated that nearly four thousand attended; the convocation had continued for several days, during which these people had slept upon the ground in the intervals between praying and preaching.

September 2d. At Chillicothe,[24] Ohio. Watson's [61] hotel; the wit's mode of spelling it (Hothell) is more significant, for the beds swarm with bugs, and the thermometer is at 86° in the shade. I called at the land office and was shewn the map of the district; most of the sections, except those south-east of the town, (a poor mountainous tract,) are entered, and to my surprize, in general paid for; so this considerable part of the state is in the hands of land speculators, under whose baneful influence a chief part of the country remains a wilderness, which otherwise would have been under cultivation, if open to real settlers at the government price per acre. The British government have in Canada acted more wisely, in offering the lands only to those who will build, clear, and settle upon them.

5th. At Col. Woods' Log tavern, nine miles east of the town of West Union, Ohio. The road has lately led us through a fine fertile tract of vale, beautifully skirted by the high rocky woodland, from whence is quarried a good

[24] For the early history of Chillicothe, see F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 35.— Ed.

hard granite for building and other purposes. The town in this tract called Bainbridge is a new settlement,[25] but already possesses some neat and good houses; the value of land of the district may be estimated by the price of town lots, containing sufficient space for a house and garden, which are as high in best situations as two hundred dollars (forty-five [62] pounds;) — the out-field lots are from twenty to twenty-five dollars per acre. This tract throughout appears well watered; the only objection I heard of to it, and that perhaps no small one to a settler, is, there being many disputed titles.

Among the growth in the wood we have lately noticed the *Papaw*, a bushy elegant shrub with large leaves; its fruit not yet ripe. The Tulip tree becomes more common, also more Elm and Beech, Sycamore and Buttonwood; all these are found here of immense size, towering high in air with stems perfectly straight. Near to Chillicothe, which is in north latitude about 39° 15′, we saw the first tobacco cultivation; it looked well notwithstanding the drought which now begins to be felt every where.

Upon admiring a large strong dog the other day, his owner told me he was very necessary on account of the wolves which are yet numerous: the dogs here are as mixed a breed as the people, and a thorough-bred is not to be seen. Deer are plentiful, also rackoons and squirrels; the wild Turkey we saw yesterday, which seemed to resemble exactly our dark tame breed.

5th. Several parties on horseback have passed us on the road, making inquiries of the way to a methodist *preachment*, and to judge from the [63] immense numbers

[25] For a sketch of the founding of West Union, see Hulme's *Journal*, volume x of our series, note 39. Concerning Bainbridge, consult Faux's *Journal*, *ante*, note 109.— Ed.

Ferry at Maysville, on the Ohio

that collect on these occasions fanaticism seems to have taken deep root here.

6th. Started with my host on an expedition through the woods to visit a farm belonging to him. We took our guns uselessly for we saw no game of any kind, but, on arriving at the farm, got some good peaches and drank the pure water of a fine spring; being warm, he directed me to let the water run upon my wrists for some time before drinking, to prevent the effects of suddenly taking cold water while heated; these sort of cautions have probably been handed down from the native hunters. We passed a kind of vine which has a poisonous quality,[26] the leaves being rubbed on the skin will raise irritating blisters. The Poplar tree, my host observed, made better shingles for covering roofs, if painted, than the Cedar, which is commonly used unpainted; perhaps any of the poplar tribe may do, and where a light covering is required might be advantageously employed in England.

A large party of settlers from the state of Illinois came by, they are returning to that of New York, to the same spot they quitted a year and a half ago. The account they give is that a fine fertile tract of land about forty miles from the river Illinois, and not far from its confluence with the Mississipi, was purchased by them, and they [64] settled upon it last summer; since which period they had lost eight of their party by dysentery, fever and ague, and that the remainder had determined to quit the purchase, and return with the loss of all their time and nearly all their money. These are facts much lessening our sanguine expectations as to the western paradise; however, I am resolved to proceed and endeavour to ascertain the truth on all the points for which I undertook

[26] This was probably the common poison ivy (*Rhus toxicodendron*).— Ed.

the journey. One of the above party told me, that when ill he had paid a fee of twenty-five dollars for one visit of a Physician, the distance being about twenty miles; if this be true the medical science at least must meet with sufficient encouragement.[27]

The state of Ohio took a rough leave of us down a rocky precipitous hill, at the foot of which we found ourselves safe on the bank of the river; and driving down to the water's edge into a *team-boat* lately established, were, about dark landed on the other side, and comfortably received at a good family inn at Maysville kept by Mr. Chambers, a sensible clever man, who came to it from Jersey State about seventeen years ago, and [65] who has, by judgment in the purchase of land &c., made a good fortune for himself and family: some lots about the town, which he bought for four hundred dollars six years since, are now worth some thousands; such is the rapid increase in the value of property in this country when a man makes a *good hit.*

On quitting this State, through which we have travelled from Wheeling in a south-west direction to Maysville or Limestone, (Kentucky,) the impression it has made is not so favourable as I had been led to expect; though our course comprehended but a small part of it, yet we passed through the most populous districts, if we except that around Cincinnati. Instead of a garden, I found a wilderness; land speculators have got a considerable part in their baleful clutches to make their market on the wants of the poor settler; but I am apt to think have been themselves outwitted, owing to the superior attraction of the more

[27] From another party which passed, I learned that the well-known Colonel Boon is still alive in the Missourie country; though the journals lately gave a circumstantial account of his death.— WELBY.

Comment by Ed. Boone died September 26, 1820.

distant western country: yet is Ohio a desirable one, as it contains within itself most articles of the first necessity and perhaps more; coals in abundance, lime, stone for building, iron and other metals, with fine rivers for transporting commodities of all kinds. The face of [66] that part which I saw, is exceedingly hilly, in some places approaching to mountains; but the soil in general well adapted to grazing, and the whole strongly resembling our county of Derby upon a gigantic scale. The north-west part of the State, an immense tract of country, has been lately ceded by the natives to the United States,[28] and I believe has been surveyed, allotted, and is now offering to the public at one and a quarter dollar per acre ready money: of its fertility much is reported, and its communication with Lake Erie, and by it with the other lakes and the eastern markets, will render it perhaps more desirable than the part we have travelled over.

The roads at present are altogether in a state of nature, the trees only just chopped off about a foot from the ground, and rocks, and stones, and gullies left to be got over as we can; no wonder then, that you see a blacksmith's shop every two or three miles, and tavern by the side of it to put up and spend your money while the repairs are doing; for which, however trifling, Vulcan cannot form his mouth to any word less than a dollar, and his friend the tavern-keeper charges an "*elevenpenny bit*" if you have but two cents *worth* of whisky.

As to the general want of cleanliness in the [67] taverns, of which so much has been said *and so justly*, though the

[28] This was the last important Indian cession in Ohio. September 29, 1817, the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa ceded a large tract bounded on the east by the previous treaty line — namely, a line drawn south from a point a few miles east of the head of Sandusky Bay, and on the south by the old Greenville treaty line (see Evans's *Tour*, in our volume viii, note 51), and the St. Mary's River.— Ed.

keepers of them have no doubt a large share of the blame, yet much may be said in their defence; the fact is, their customers are of so filthy habits that to have a house clean is almost impossible; and though bugs swarm it is true in the bed-rooms, beyond an English imagination, it is extremely difficult in this warm climate to keep free from them, particularly at inns, as they are constantly carried in the cloaths, luggage, &c., from one house to another until many a bug, it may happen, has been as great a traveller as Mr. Birkbeck himself. Yet do the people deserve reprehension, for while "such things are," and sundry other unseemly appearances are constantly, in their bed-rooms and other parts, existing in full force; while their gardens (ill deserving the name) are over-run with weeds, and cropped in the most slovenly manner; while a thousand disagreeables are around them, these — what shall I call them? — slaves to sloth, and worshippers of an idle deity of independence, will sit lounging against the wall with arms across smoking cigars; or you shall see the female part, lolling out of their windows gazing at nothingness.

[68] KENTUCKY
MAYSVILLE, OR LIMESTONE

Here at Mr. Chamber's, we staid two days, received more like guests than as travellers at an inn; his conversation was amusing and his anecdotes conveying much information: in his garden which is spacious and well-managed, we ate the first ripe grapes we had met with. The town, which seems to be fast increasing in size and importance, stands high from the level of the river, and is screened by towering hills, affording in the immediate

Maysville, on the Ohio, Kentucky

neighbourhood and also up the river situations for building that few places can surpass: the view from above the town looking down the river is beautiful and extensive; a considerable part of the buildings are of brick; glass works are established, and other manufactories requiring machinery. All these advantages however will hardly compensate with most people for its being within the territories of a slave state. Of the determined obstinacy and turpitude of a black boy we were here witnesses; a silver fruit-knife had been left upon the table, and he had secreted it, the knife was soon missed, and search made for it in vain; at length, suspicion falling upon him, he was sent for and [69] questioned, but denied all knowledge of the knife with an air of the greatest innocency; he was offered half a dollar and to be screened from punishment if he would give it up, but continued to deny that he had taken it, wishing, "his flesh might rot if he had"— his pockets were at length examined; and the knife and an apple dropt together from one of them, upon which the young rogue declared that the person who searched him had put it there, and a terrible beating which I fear he got, did not in the least make him prevaricate.

We took leave of our host and hostess not without some regret, and, as we slowly paced up the long hill which rises immediately from the town, looked back frequently to view the beautiful river scenery from the different points it offered: a turn at the top suddenly presented on all sides a cleared, well cultivated, and inclosed country; the road was good, the day beautiful, and we bowled along through plentiful crops of Indian corn, rejoicing that we had escaped the wilderness, and thinking we had really entered upon the garden of the United States. After a few miles of good road however these pleasant

ideas were shaken out by an absolute rock, upon which with but little intermission we rattled for near twenty miles, passing through a place called Blue Licks.[29] At its salt springs [70] the deer and buffaloe used formerly to be found in immense herds; it is now a watering place, the resort of invalids: yet let not the English reader here picture to himself either Bath, Cheltenham, or Tunbridge Wells, but a few dispersed log huts and two taverns of the same description. Many of the men here wear, instead of a coat, a short cloak, a little resembling that part of the old English dress, which if they knew how to carry with any grace would look well.

The drought is now exceedingly great, and we have reports of much stock dying to the south of this state for want of water; we therefore see the country at as unfavourable a time as possible; yet, under these disadvantages, the grass is really green, a circumstance which proves the strong natural fertility of the soil, also shewn by the spontaneous growth of the white clover among the trees of the uncleared forest land where it has been grazed. Of this grazed forest the farmers assert that it will not, when cleared, broke up and sown, produce so much corn by one third per acre as that which has not been grazed, and many of them consequently shut up their forest land from all cattle and even from pigs.

[71] AN ODD MISTAKE

A little black boy was playing upon the ground, at the tavern-door with a dog; I pointed to them and said to the landlord, (a very civilized man,) "Do you make christians

[29] For the early history of Blue Licks, see Cuming's *Tour*, in our volume iv, note 117.— Ed.

of these?" "Oh no."—"You name them without the clergyman?" "Oh yes; we sometimes give them one name and then alter it for another:"—"And does not your church find fault with you sometimes for such neglect?"

"No, they never think of such things."

"And when they die you throw them into the ground without further ceremony?"

Answer,— Always let them lie just where it happens — I suppose, you do not do so in your country; do you?

Self,— Certainly not; we think very differently upon the subject; that child would there be free, the moment it set foot upon our shores.

Landlord,—"Oh, you mean the *negre*; I thought you were speaking of the dog all the time. Yes; we christen *them*; but we do not let them eat with us, only the Quakers let them eat with them!"

This man's kitchen presented a picture which is general with some exceptions throughout the [72] slave country, a description of it will therefore serve for all the rest. Behold, a dark log building with a floor of mud, upon which a number of little black children are at all times to be seen crawling, while others are perhaps lying without the door sunning themselves; all mostly without any covering whatever: these are the progeny of the cook and other slaves, and are destined for sale or to supply the places of others. A quick lively little black girl, of about nine years of age, waited here with such spirit and so cleverly upon the guests that she attracted our notice; and upon praising her dexterity to her master he told us, that he had more than once refused three hundred dollars which had been offered for her.— The kitchen, besides being made the daily black-nursery, is also their general dormitory: at night, they creep round the warm embers and huddled

together sleep in the contaminated atmosphere of this Augean stable, in the midst of the dirt and abominations of which the traveller's meat is prepared, and served more decently than might be expected; after escaping (*perhaps*) the fingers of the poor little creatures, who, watching their opportunity, rise from under the dressers, pilfer the meat and dip their fingers in gravies.

The ovens are, very conveniently for this warm [73] climate, built apart from the house in the open air. Mine host, notwithstanding the above mistake, was a man of very respectable manners, and his wife, a lady-like woman, presided at the supper which was even elegantly set out to a company most heterogeneous. Opposite to me, a young fellow seated himself, without his coat and in his dirty shirt sleeves of at least seven days' wear, and, not shewing the least of that shyness which such a man would experience in England, played away with his knife and fork perfectly at his ease: indeed, the clumsy gait and bent body of our peasant is hardly ever seen here, every one walks erect and easy; a plainness of dress and coarseness of the texture amounting to vulgarity, blunt discourse, in short, the manners of the herd, are *affected* by the few, and all mix without any seeming distinction. To have objected to the company of the dirty fellow just mentioned would have probably ended in a "*rough and tumble*," and the loss of an eye, as it is not an uncommon accomplishment to be a good hand at "*gouging*." This brings to mind a story of a fellow who had been so terribly mauled at a "rough and tumble" that a man, compassionating his condition, said, "you have come off badly this time I doubt?" "Have I," says he; triumphantly shewing from his pocket [74] at the same time an eye, which he had extracted during the combat, and preserved for a trophy.

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY[30]

The approach to this town is for several miles along good road, and through a country much improving in natural advantages and cultivation. Lexington has been often enough described; thirty-five years ago, it is said to have contained but one hundred houses; it has now several thousands, and many of them very handsome; more to say, it has some good and wide streets, with well-paved broad foot-ways of brick, and a market street, only in part finished, upon the model of that at Philadelphia: its Court-house, a miserable brick building, stands well and airy in a large square which may some time or other be neat: in and near the town is a manufactory or two. The College or public seminary[31] is well situated at the eastern entrance of the town; it is a handsome building but within in a bad state; at present there are about one hundred pupils. The inn, or tavern to which I was recommended, and where I met with much civility and attention; had any thing rather than cleanliness or comfort, [75] but the charges as high as if both had been to the utmost wish;[32] myriads of bugs as usual; we literally found rest in getting up, and much mental relief in quitting the town, though strongly persuaded to stay that we might behold the horsemanship of a Mr. West and his troop from England!

One circumstance however should make me remember Lexington with some satisfaction; with the improvidence

[30] For a brief account of Lexington, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 28.— Ed.

[31] An account of the early history of Transylvania University has been given in our volume iv, note 126.— Ed.

[32] There are two good family taverns however, one the Indian Queen; of the other I forget the sign.— Welby.

very common to travellers my resources had not been calculated properly, and I began to find that the purse would be emptied before we should gain the place of the next expected remittance. In this dilemma I sought the residence of the Cashier of the United States branch Bank, and stated the case to him; upon which he in the most gentlemanly manner cashed my draft: to the same gentleman on my return I was again beholden for assistance in managing an exchange of notes, and he may rest assured I shall not soon forget his urbanity.

FRANKFORT

The approach, as well as the country immediately [76] around this capital of Kentucky, is beautiful; the size of the town may be considered about that of one of our better market towns: some of the private houses very well built of brick (the general material here) and very handsomely fitted up within. The building in which the senate of thirty-one Members, and the body of Representatives of about ninety, meet, is a fine object on entering the town from the western bridge; the Court-house is a very neat building and the whole effect renders it a far preferable residence to Lexington, except perhaps with a view to trade; and of that there seems very little. We found here an excellent tavern and hotel for families lately established by Colonel Taylor,[33] one of the old revolution-

[33] For a brief note on Frankfort, see F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, volume iii of our series, note 39.

This was probably Colonel Richard Taylor, father of General Zachary Taylor. He was born in Virginia in 1744, and served throughout the Revolutionary War. Removing to the Falls of the Ohio (1781), he was a member of the conventions which formed the first and second constitutions of Kentucky, and was often a member of its legislature. He died in 1826.— Ed.

Frankfort. Kentucky

ary officers: the building and interior would not disgrace our own capital, and our meals were served with every comfort and polite attention from his lady.

Upon inquiry both at Lexington and Frankfort I find that the price of land is about one-sixth of what it was three years ago; good land which then sold round Lexington for two hundred dollars per acre, may be bought now even for twenty-five,— and considerable tracts lying between the above towns for five and six dollars per acre.

[77] On leaving Frankfort about a mile, the western road leads winding up a considerable hill, from whence we were gratified with a fine view of the town and the surrounding woodland scenery: the day being beautiful, and time allowing, I determined to put up at the first house where we could find shelter for the horses, and return to sketch it: accordingly, we made up to a very respectable looking farm-house and asking permission to put the horses into a stable, it was granted; while this was doing I was in courtesy thanking the owner and expressing hopes that we should not put him to any inconvenience, when the inhospitable brute suddenly stopped me with "you need not be so full of your thanks for I mean to charge you for it!"— To be sure I lost no more time in compliments but, returning to the view, finished the sketch, and after a pleasant walk renewed my journey paying for shelter only above half a dollar; however I first lectured them until they were perhaps a little ashamed, but they took the money and we drove on, descanting upon the virtue of hospitality, to

LOUISVILLE[34]

A handsome town, of which the chief part is in one street. Here are two good hotels at one [78] of which (Allen's, a good family house,) we met with every attention on our return; but now, a cleaner looking house farther on inviting us, and being repelled by a crowd of travellers of all descriptions and variety of dress, smoking and lounging at the doors of the other two, we drove past; forgetting "farther on you may fare worse," which we certainly did.[35]

On settling an innkeeper's account I said that if we might judge by the charges, a man must soon become rich in his business; which he acknowledged would be the case were it not for bad notes and bilking customers, anecdotes of whom he told several: one young man after running a bill of three hundred dollars rode out one morning, as accustomed, to take the air and *forgot to return*; others have watched the departure of the steam vessels and set off to New Orleans, having *reckoned without their host*, so that the losses are immense. These hints and others, I did not unfortunately hear until on my return, or I should not probably have been induced to trust to American honour in way of business so much as I did to my cost.

At all these houses a regular clerk and bar-keeper [79] is maintained with whom the traveller *goes* to settle, for a bill is never brought as in England; no ringing of the bell here and, when the waiter comes bowing in, "Desire

[34] For information concerning the early history of Louisville, consult Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 106.— Ed.

[35] For the information of future travellers, Allen's quiet part of the hotel is down the street turning the corner of his house.— Welby.

my bill immediately''— no; that would not suit with independence.

The bed of the river is here of vast breadth, and during the spring must afford a grand view when the waters are struggling with and rushing over the extensive rocky falls; at present a very small channel is sufficient for its reduced stream; people are employed on the dry bed in deepening the intended course for the boats, arks, &c. when the waters shall next rise to afford them a passage. Travellers of curiosity can now traverse on wheels, with a guide, the greatest part of the rocks over which in a few months a mighty body of waters will roll with tremendous force.

INDIANA

Three miles beyond Louisville the western road again brings you to the Ohio; and by a very ill conducted and apparently rather dangerous ferry we were wafted over, (after waiting for our turn with many waggons, &c. above three [80] hours,) and entered the State of Indiana at the town of New Albany;[36] where we found a very comfortable reception at the excellent family tavern kept by Dr. Hales, a physician. We had hitherto been frequently received by Representatives, Colonels, Majors, 'Squires, and Captains; these now sometimes give place to the medical profession. An American may be proud of his liberty, but the pride of a gentleman never stands in the way of a profitable speculation; idleness only is here a disgrace, and if a man of liberal education finds that his profession will not sufficiently remunerate him it is thought right that he should seek profit in trade.

[36] A brief account of New Albany may be found in Hulme's *Journal*, volume x of our series, note 15.— Ed.

I had quitted the State of Kentucky with impressions in its favour far stronger than that of Ohio had produced; — the climate is fine, the land fertile and well cleared, and inclosed; the houses well built, and the landscape as we passed frequently beautiful. But this is a slave State; and as this degraded situation of a part of our species has excited the horror of philanthropists on our side the globe, I will stop to say a few words on the subject; my observations being understood to be confined solely to the few slave States I have seen, and disclaiming, at the same time, all theoretic approbation of the institution. I have read, as others, with feelings of disgust [81] and injured pride of humanity, of estates to be sold with so many slaves upon them; and of the floggings unmerciful which authors have related; and, drawing conclusions from such statements, I expected to see the slave, in misery and wretchedness, bent down with labour and hard-living, but was very agreeably surprised to find the reverse. Slavery is not here what it *may be* in our Colonies and perhaps, as I believe it is still worse, in the old quarters of the globe. By the spirit of the laws the black is here *indirectly* benefitted: though a slave, he is suffered to associate with his fellows, and one day in the seven (Sunday) is set apart for society with each other; and though there may be instances of cruel punishment, yet so numerous are the blacks becoming that it will soon be dangerous, if the time is not already arrived, for such instances to be repeated. And here lies the real objection to these slave States; the slaves begin to know their own strength, and probably would not long bear oppression. To see their well-proportioned figures easy and unconstrained, and lively countenances, a stranger might be led to think that *they* were in fact the masters of the ill-formed,

emaciated, care-worn whites, were it not for the fine clothing of the latter: in short they are well clothed, fed, and taken care of, and [82] so numerous that I believe they are felt already in many places rather a burthen on the community than an advantage. As to the work they do, as far as I have had an opportunity to see, I should say it is so little, that an English labourer would with ease accomplish more in a day than two of them; and excepting a few of the *old school*, it is the general sentiment of the best informed Americans that they should be better off without slaves. But the sins of the fathers have fallen upon their sons, and, as far as human foresight may look into futurity, they never can get rid of the effects; they must always have an immense black population to support, unless indeed the period shall ever arrive when the latter shall change stations and *support them.*

We now meet at least as many parties going eastward as on the western route, which might be rather discouraging to those not accustomed to American restless search after gain; in this, all considerations of comfort, or attachment to home are lost. He makes a pig-inclosure of logs, a stable of the same, open to all the winds and to the poultry, and if his log house will keep out the worst of the weather it is sufficient: and thus, with such buildings, with just as much corn and fother as will keep him, his family, and his stock, the [83] settler passes his indolent days; smoking under the shed of his habitation, and waiting for some good offer for what he terms his improvement; when he immediately loads his waggon with his furniture and family, and without the shadow of regret leaves his abode to seek some other equally uncomfortable.

This State in respect to cultivation bears not at present any comparison with its neighbour, but in natural beauties

far exceeds it. The variety of trees, shrubs, and flowers is great; the colours of the latter gratifying the eye in all the gay luxuriance of nature; — the timber trees grow to an enormous size; I measured an Oak which at four feet from the ground was twenty-four feet in circumferance, but there are larger trees here. We passed (*chemin faisant*) through several new settlements called by the people Towns, and which indeed may soon deserve the name; roads, bridges, mills for sawing, and other buildings — every thing in short, goes on with that spirit of enterprise which, in spite of poverty, is shewn by the people of America.

Paoli stands very pleasantly: Hindostan, on a branch of the White river communicating with the Ohio by the Wabash, also is *to be* a town of great trade: Washington is perhaps the worst situated for trade,[37] but the land around it is [84] very fertile. There are also many other intended to-be towns, but at present containing about half a dozen log huts, such as Greensville, Brownsville, Fredericksberg, &c. &c. called thus after the first proprietor of the land, who, if he is so fortunate as to make choice of a favourable situation, rapidly makes his fortune by the quick influx of settlers; but this is not always the case and there are many "Villes" and "Bergs" which will probably long remain as we found them.

At Hindostan I met with an adventure which, considering how little respect is paid to any law, I might perhaps as well have avoided. At a miserable log tavern there, kept open (and to all the winds) by a Colonel, the enter-

[37] Paoli, about forty miles northwest of New Albany, is the seat of Orange County; it was laid out in 1816 by a territorial commission, and the first frame building erected in that year. Hindostan has passed out of existence; see Faux's *Journal*, volume xi of our series, note 68. Washington proved to be the most advantageously located. See *ibid.*, note 69.— Ed.

tainment both for man and horse was the worst we had lately met with — the hay it was pretended was too far off to fetch; and a few heads of Indian corn was all we could procure for the horses. For ourselves, after a miserable meal, we found a bed laid in an out-house, which also served for lumber-room and larder. All this travellers must learn chearfully to bear, but another evil, which too frequently follows, the high charges, it is not so easy to pay with good humour: in this case I ventured, as I had hitherto done with good effect, to reason against one or two of the items in a quiet delicate way fit for the ears [85] of an independent; but here it did not succeed, for my Colonel turned upon his heel saying, if I objected to his charges he would take nothing at all, and away he went. I had a great mind to take him at his word on account of his treatment; but after waiting for his return some time, with my horses at the door, I at length left with the Colonel's lady more than sufficient to defray the proper legal charge according to the rate made out by their magistrates, to which however few of them pay much attention: well, we then drove on, but had not got to the river side before a lad was sent after me with the money, for the Colonel had in fact been hiding to see what I would do, and coming out from his hole to hear what had been left for him, preferred venting his spite even before his money. I now determined to see how this would end, and therefore put the money into my pocket, drove down to the river side, and leaving my name and address at a store there for him, crossed the ford and proceeded. An hour or two after, my gentleman passed me on horseback, pale, "spiteful and wrathful," and we kept a good look out, a little apprehensive of being *rifled at* from behind the trees; so we got the arms out

ready; and drove on with circumspection to the town of Washington about eighteen miles from [86] Hindostan. Here he had collected more people than I should have supposed possible in the short time, and had prepared his dramatis personæ, one of whom came immediately to arrest me; with this fellow I went to attend another whom they called a 'Squire, a whisky seller. At this respectable tribunal of the wilderness I stated my case with some difficulty from the noise and opposition, and expecting as much justice as I found, the 'Squire said the bill must be paid without referring to the rates; and as curiosity not resistance was my object, I at length paid it with about a quarter dollar, no great fee for his worship. Upon this, the Colonel was so elated with his victory that to shew his generosity, he said, he would treat his friends with half a dozen of wine and give the amount of his bill away; being satisfied with "shewing *the Englishman* that he was not to be imposed upon;" and it was in fact this rancor against an Englishman, (not the first time I heard, it had been shewn by him in the present way;) and which indeed is very general, that had actuated him from our arrival at his log palace.

From the effects of wine added to the elation of spirits from victory, I fully expected the affair would not end yet, and, determined not to avoid any thing they might intend, I paced [87] before the tavern and mixed with the people in the general room; but whether the wine was put off for a glass round of the 'Squire's whiskey, or that it was swallowed quickly I know not, in a very short time they all quietly departed, and not a word or look could be construed insulting. This we must own would not have been the case while such feelings were afloat in some other countries, and was either very much to their credit or occa-

sioned by a party against their proceedings, several of whom told me they had acted wrong and illegally.

While the towns are rapidly rising into being and improvement, the inhabitant of the wood, vegetating in his log cabin, seems to remain without increase of comforts, as he is without emulation to spur him on to obtain them. Being now beyond the boundaries of any regular tavern, necessity threw us upon seeking shelter for the night, in several of such habitations, open to every breath of the winds without, and swarming within with fleas, bugs, and other vermin: these are called "houses of entertainment;" they are known to those who cross this at present wilderness under such appellatives as "Preacher Biram's," "Preacher Blair's," "Widow More's," &c. At one of these, where, except a wretched shed behind for a kitchen, [88] there was only one room for all the purposes of life, we had put up for the night, and after such a supper as the house afforded, had lain down to endeavour to rest; not sleep, for that, not to mention the company above alluded to, would have been sufficiently prevented by the knives and forks of my host and his family at supper in the adjoining shed. After having watched for the end of this, with some hope that we might get sleep, and hearing at length the welcome sounds of putting away, I had just addressed myself to Morpheus, when a general chorus in all keys suddenly burst upon my ears — they had commenced at eleven o'clock at night their evening's devotion, put off perhaps by our arrival: when the psalm was ended, which was sung *a pleine gorge*, the preacher read a long homily, which took up near an hour more, and which finished the business, and quiet seemed likely to reign, when just as I had composed myself suddenly some one jogged my shoulders;

it was my hostess come to tell me that two gentlemen, one a Dr. *****, and both particular friends of theirs had arrived, and wished to have supper in the room, however that it need not at all disturb us, as they were very nice gentlemen. However I strongly objected to this proposal; and after some demur [89] the gentlemen condescended to take their supper in the place which had just served for the domestic chapel and kitchen, and which I believe afterwards was the general dormitory of the party; after keeping it up very jovially until one or two o'clock of the morning, by which time the bugs, assisted by the light troops, had stormed and taken all my defences, and for the rest of the time effectually "murdered sleep."

The reader will not here mistake so far as to suppose I mean to treat lightly domestic worship, an observance for which we should all be better, and for which I could not but respect my host, hoping he was sincere in it; nor should the traveller be soured by the charges after such *entertainment*, as he is too apt to be; but he should consider that he had met with the best reception in the power of the people to give: their only beds are given up for his convenience, while they probably sleep on a bench or on the ground, and if money is the view chiefly in all this, let money be freely given to discharge the obligation. I was angered with much more reason at my host's attempt to inveigle my man-servant from me with offers of twenty dollars per month, his board, &c.: these religious people are but too apt to disregard moral conduct as a thing altogether of [90] this world: many similar offers had I believe been made to him, which sufficiently proves the scarcity of active hands, and that such need not fear to want situations.

Long before we approach the neighbourhood of Vin-

cennes the woodland opens here and there into what are termed *barrens*; these are not generally flat but undulated, and covered with stunted oak, low beautifull shrubs, &c.; belted in with trees so fancifully disposed that one is apt to imagine the hand of art to have been employed: the land is not considered in general as of even second-rate quality, but it is dry and healthy, and, when cultivated, brings good corn if the summer is at all favourable; indeed, under the present drought I saw some fair crops at the few spots where *squatters* had fixed themselves. These barrens increase in size and number as we proceed westward, until they end in the so much talked of *prairie* or wild meadows; in the midst of one of which, and upon the Great Wabash river stands the pleasant town of Vincennes, upon a sandy gravel sub-soil with excellent springs of water. Before we arrived at Vincennes, however, an adventure awaited us. We had baited at a house which we were told was but six miles from the town, and forgetting there is in these latitudes no twilight, had [91] staid too long, and in consequence found ourselves in complete darkness just on entering upon a large prairie; the road, which was nothing more than wheel-tracks could no longer be discerned, and I was obliged to direct two of our party to precede the carriage and find the way by feeling, not by seeing the track. In this manner we had not gone far when the guides stopped, declaring they heard the growl of some wild beast before them,— bears, wolves, and panthers, all of which I had just heard of, immediately came to mind, and I pulled up the horses to listen; when a tremendous roar was heard directly, succeeded by another which brought our guides, who were females, back upon the waggons, declaring that the animal approached. Very unwilling for the engagement, I then cocked my pistols,

and calling to the man to do the same awaited for some time the attack; but finding the enemy did not come forward, I ventured to drive on, and soon discovered the object of our alarm to be a bull, which had probably been as much discomfited at our approach as we at his roars. We now resumed our stations, and though rain added to the dreariness of our situation, I had the satisfaction to find that all acted with spirit. After a doubtful march, which seemed of much longer duration than it really [92] was, we at length discovered some lights at a distance, and shortly after a horseman passed who gave us the welcome assurance that we were in a right direction; so completely dark was it however that even when we approached the town we could not find any track by which to enter it. In this dilemma, amidst a pouring rain, we were again aided by a good-natured Irishman, whose house we by chance came up against; for he mounted along side of my driver and piloted us to a tavern, glad enough to be relieved from cold, wet, dirt, and darkness, a good preparation for the enjoyment of a comfortable supper and bed, free from unpleasant bed-fellows.

VINCENNES, (INDIANA)

This settlement, founded by some French families from Canada, though one year older than Philadelphia cannot like it boast of great extent and opulence;[38] it has not yet by any means lost its cabin appearance, though the beneficial effects of the New Orleans market are beginning to be very apparent; and good brick dwellings are fast erecting in the best situations, behind which its log huts are

[38] Vincennes is not as old as Philadelphia, having been founded in 1727. Consult Croghan's *Journals*, volume i of our series, note 113.— Ed.

hiding their diminished [93] heads. A very good building of brick intended for a public school, has been erected by the aid of ample funds left by an individual for the purpose; yet, owing to strange neglect, the institution is suffered to go to decay and no master has been provided. A handsome house belonging to a General Harrison, the chief proprietor here, is also in a dilapidated state, the General having left it to reside elsewhere.[39] Further on, by the water-side, we visited a steam mill upon an extensive scale; which grinds corn, saws timber into boards, and cards wool and cotton; a most beneficial establishment for the surrounding country, though I was told, not just now a good concern to the proprietors. These, with two middling taverns, and a few substantial houses lately erected constitute the chief buildings; the rest are a heap of wooden huts occupied by traders in skins, and various other things with the natives. The Wabash, a fine river, floats the produce of this commerce and of the land, down to the Ohio, from whence it is conveyed to New Orleans chiefly in steam boats which return laden with goods for their market at an enormous profit. To elucidate a little the nature of this trade I enter a few memoranda.

Indian corn or maize is bought here of the farmer at about a quarter dollar the bushel, soon [94] after harvest; in spring it is sent down the river to New Orleans under a freight of another quarter dollar per bushel; and is sold there from seventy-five cents (three shillings and sixpence) to a dollar. Wheat is bought at a price about sixpence or sevenpence the bushel dearer than maize, and sells proportionally higher.

For a return lading, Salt is bought at half a dollar per

[39] Upon resigning his commission in the army (1814), General Harrison settled upon a farm at North Bend, Ohio.— Ed.

bushel, and sells at Vincennes from two $ to two and a quarter $ ditto.

Loaf sugar sells at half a dollar, (2s. 3d.) per lb.
Brown sugar sells at 37½ cents, (1s. 8d.) per lb.
Coffee at 75 cents, (3s. 6d.) per lb.
Tea at from 2½ $ to 3½ $ per lb.

and other groceries, many of which like the above are bought for considerably less than half their selling price, in proportion: of iron and drugs I could not obtain the price at New Orleans; but of the profit on the iron the reader may judge by the price I paid to a blacksmith for eight new horse-shoes, steel toes, and eight removes; the bill for which was about ten dollars,— above two guineas! I remonstrated and appealed in vain, the bill was paid; yet I cannot think that such a price is charged to the inhabitants among themselves; but there is no justice and little law but one's own arm; and [95] a man must be fain to yield before a nest of —— who join in plucking a stranger; indeed, he may think himself well off if they are contented with a little plucking at his purse, for instances are not unfrequent of individuals among them being "rifled" for having rendered themselves obnoxious; which they do equally if they are too good (*honest*) or too bad (*deep*) for them; or not holding themselves sufficiently upon a level.

I did not learn the exact offence for which a deed of this nature was perpetrated with impunity at a recent period not many miles from this place, in the Prairie country, but the facts are as follows: — A party proposed to each other coolly to go and shoot neighbour ***** who had behaved ill to them at sundry times; it was agreed upon; they went to his field, found the old man at plough and with unerring aim laid him dead! — Mr. Flower

himself related to me this atrocious affair, and I did not hear that any punishment was ever talked of. Such is the state of things in this western paradise! A beautiful garden indeed it is from the hands of nature, and with but a little industry a most desirable country to dwell in ..... with a people who do not shoot each other: but for a man of orderly habits and civilized manners, to leave his every comfort, plunge into this wilderness, [96] and sit himself down among a set of half savages far more expert that he can be in every thing essential to such a life! — 'tis a strange anomaly, and I think, "cannot come to good." The young, the enterprising, the man who seeks a fortune, may find a field for successful exertion — with great circumspection in undertakings, and great good luck in escaping bad notes and bad debts, large profits may accrue to industry; but let no one, who already may possess the comforts of life, seek fortune, freedom or bliss in this western speculation; for if he does, the chances are great that he will lose all.

Though the profits of trade here may be even more favourable than above stated, yet are there great risks, which ought to be taken into the contemplation of those who may be inclined, by these accounts, to the enterprise. Among the risks, one of the greatest arises from the not uncommon accident of boats sinking, as no care however great, will at all times prevent them from running upon hidden trunks of trees, when they almost to a certainty go down if heavy laden; and in such cases all the perishable part of the cargo is either lost or much damaged: a catastrophe not to be guarded against, as in Europe, by insurance; there not being at present any means of effecting it here. A more [97] safe speculation seems to be that of the builder, and as far as I could learn, equally profit-

able; the house in which I was, built of boards, and which was said to cost about two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling, gains a rent of two hundred and fifty dollars clear of all deductions. There are I have little doubt, many other channels of profitable employment, and upon the whole it may be said, that this town offers a station for young men of prudence, spirit, and a little capital, where they may make a fortune; it is also a dry healthy delightful country. As to the morals and religion of the inhabitants, I cannot say that with respect to either they appear in a very favourable light, if one may judge from any outward observances of the latter, or conduct respecting the first, in affairs of business. Sunday is so little marked as a day of rest or religious duty that I believe no attention is paid to it, (except by the French catholics, who have a wooden chapel;) and a stranger, who should arrive on a Sunday, might well be led to conclude that it was a colony of Jews rather than of christians, and that their sabbath had been kept the day before; tradesmen I saw carrying goods; farmers *hauled* their corn; and the water-mill went merrily round.

The price of labour is apparently high; a carpenter [98] or bricklayer receives two dollars and his board per day; but as competition increases I will not recommend the mechanic to rely upon getting such wages: and if he should, he must take notice that the high price he must pay for most articles of necessity, will bring his wages down nearer to a level with other places than he might at first suppose; to be sure, there is here less competition at present.

Having examined the town, and both ourselves and horses sufficiently rested, we made the necessary inquiries and preparations to proceed to the English Prairie in the Illinois State; from thence intending to visit the German

Settlement called Harmony on the Wabash, and returning to winter at Vincennes. Receiving however, meanwhile, a pressing invitation to accompany a gentleman to his country house about twenty miles distant, it being represented as little deviating from our intended route, I accepted of it; the more inclined perhaps, because of his pleasing manners, and his being a native of the northern part of my own country. Having however a little apprehension as to the fitness of the roads we were going to pass over for wheels, I inquired of him whether they would permit a carriage to travel; and all my doubts were removed by his answer that "they were [99] as good as the town street," where we happened to be standing: we shall soon see how accurate his account turned out to be.

It was a beautiful day in the latter part of September, that we started on this expedition in my Dearborn; our friend on horseback leading the way. We drove along a good turf road across the fine plain of Vincennes, fully expecting to get on as smoothly and pleasantly as a gig party on a Sunday excursion along what are called the "green lanes," around our own metropolis; — we were not long suffered to enjoy these pleasing anticipations however, for our guide suddenly turned into the wood and the wheels came bump upon our old acquaintance a stump road.— While we are getting on slowly upon it, I will just give a slight description how such tracts are formed; — imagine a woodland in a state of nature: through this, guiding themselves by compass, people get on as they can, chopping a piece of bark from the trees in the line, which they call "blazing," as a direction to those who follow with tools to cut down the trees between those blazed, which they do at about a foot to a foot and a half from the ground, leaving the stumps and brushwood standing. In

a short time this latter gets worn away, but the stumps remain a long while; and between these, horsemen, waggons, and other [100] carriages proceed, steering between, or bumping upon them, which is at times unavoidable, and week after week I have driven to my own astonishment how escaping, winding about among these stumps, progressing at most not more than three miles an hour. Were the "four in hand" thought I, to try their skill on these roads, many a wreck would soon strew the ground.

But to return to our adventure; for our companion calls, and presses me to urge forward the horses; advice needless to give, for alas! we could not adopt it. The small track became more blind; our guide appeared to be confused; and not a little to my dismay and vexation, instead of road as good as Vincennes town-street, we were at length entangled in woodland; brushing through breaking boughs, going in and out through bogs, and lifting the wheels over dead fallen trees as we could. In this situation, as difficult to retreat as advance, I knew not what to do and began to suspect some foul play; but recollecting the respectable character our companion bore at Vincennes, I dismissed the thought, and being both myself and servant armed I resolved to try to proceed; so calling in a peremptory tone to our friend in advance to keep in sight, for I fancied he seemed to be uneasy at his situation, and he at times [101] disappeared, I asked him, not if this was his excellent road — I was too vexed for that, but how much farther such difficulties would be found: he answered not far; that we were near the river, and that we would cross it at a nearer ferry than he had at first intended; adding, he would ride on and get the boat ready, he vanished, after pointing the way we were to follow.

I now thought he was gone, and had left us in the lurch;

however we got on by degrees, and at length had the pleasure to see the river side, and our friend waiting for us with the crazy ferry boat, into which with some difficulty we got the carriage. Our difficulties were now to cease he said, and a good road the rest of the way was to reward our exertions; for better assurance of these good tidings I endeavoured to obtain some information from the boatmen as we crossed the Wabash; but they proved to be Canadian French, and we did not sufficiently understand their "*patois*" to gain any satisfactory account from them. We landed safely; and after rising the river bank, actually did find a tolerable good woodland road for some miles, until it approached without much hinderance a small settlement, dignified with the name of Palmyra; a place which to all appearance need not hope for the prosperity so [102] much as it may fear the lot, of its prototype. Here we found a log tavern, however, and we halted to consider what to do; for the day was closing and I remembered there would be no twilight. In this dilemma I again suffered myself to be guided by our companion, who represented, that at this log inn we should not find any accommodations, either for ourselves or horses beyond shelter, that his house was now but three short miles further upon a good road; and that he had provided every thing for our comfort as well as that of our cattle: yielding to these pressing arguments, the rather too as he seemed a little chagrined at my hesitation, I once more trotted on, which the horses could well do, for about half a mile beyond the settlement. But how shall I describe what followed! Our guide turned again into the wood calling out that it was his *private road*: and private indeed we found it, for we soon lost all track and light together.

There was now no retreating, so summoning up more

resolution from despair, I urged and encouraged my good little horses, and they dragged the carriage at the constant risk of our necks, through brushwood, over fallen trees, down and up precipitous banks and deep gullies, which I could scarcely discern, and which if I could have seen should not have attempted; [103] until I became so enraged at the man's deception that had he given the least provocation I believe I should have shot him; however he luckily avoided this by keeping a little in advance, and mildly calling out now and then to direct the way saying we were very near; and indeed, long after day had departed, we halted at a gate. Here he advised us to get out and walk, as the way, up to the house for wheels was circuitous; out therefore we got, when I perceived approaching, carrying a light, a human figure in form, dress, and manner as wild and complete a ruffian as ever Shakspeare pourtrayed.

To this being, whose appearance, and the friendly shake of the hand given him by my conductor, did not tend to relieve my mind from suspicions of I knew not what, I was fain to give up my horses; he returned a surly answer in French to Mr. ***** who had said something I did not understand, and receiving the reins from me jumped into the carriage and drove away; but not alone, for I directed my man to go with him; a service he probably did not much relish, but which in my then state of mind I thought necessary. I now explored my way towards a light, and soon came up to a portico which had the appearance of being built in good style: here too I had the satisfaction to [104] meet the carriage, which I had no sooner come up to, than a voice which seemed of stentorian power hailed me from the portico with a torrent of words, amongst which what struck me most was, "You have got here but you

will never get away again!'' My host who had approached to press me to enter his house, seemed to put this off with a smile *not quite easy*; and I declined quitting my horses being determined to see them into the promised stable; but upon expressing this intention the ill omened voice again thundered, ''Oh, there is no place for your horses but this,— they will be safe enough,— they cannot *get out.*''—''But they are warm,'' said I; ''have had a long pull ever since noon without bait, and will catch cold out of a stable.'' ''Can't help it'' was the answer; but just after he added, ''to be sure there is a log place, but it has no roof!'' My host now again returned to invite me in; and under his assurance that the horses should have every care taken of them, and knowing that my own man would do his best for them, I reluctantly gave up the point; mounted a flight of steps, crossed the Piazza, and entered a room not calculated to make amazement cease. It was spacious, lofty, well-proportioned, and finished in every part in the very best style of workmanship: a good wood fire [105] blazed upon a beautiful polished grate, the appertenances to which were equally handsome; a marble chimney piece, the tables, chairs, the supper table, and lights supported in handsome branches, all which is commonly seen in good houses, was here, surrounded by primæval wilderness; an accomplishment so wonderful that it seemed not to be within any power short of those of necromancy, and when my mind glanced back upon the way we had been led, I might fairly suspect the person who had done it to have some credit at the court of his Satanic Majesty. Such thoughts however were well dispelled by a neat supper, served in a manner corresponding with the appearance of the place; and by the aid of some excellent wine our spirits began to flow as the impressions of the

day's adventures were, for a while, lost in social converse. Our host I found to be a man of the world; knowing perfectly well how, and practising that which he knew, to be agreeable; full of anecdote, which he gave well; and after keeping it up to a late hour we retired to rest in a handsome adjoining chamber.

Rising with the early sun, refreshed from the harass of the preceding day, I walked out anxious to explore the lodgings of my four-footed companions, not much expecting to find that "every [106] care" had been taken of them; indeed after a considerable search I at length discovered the place of their confinement, in an inclosure of logs without the slightest roof; of course they looked piteously, for the nights had become rather keen and frosty. Perhaps it may be thought by some readers that too much has been said of the dumb servants; but let those who think so either take a journey, during which their lives shall constantly depend upon the steadiness of their horses or at least let these objectors reflect, that during such daily acquaintance a sort of mute friendly understanding takes place between the driver and his cattle; — they will then no longer wonder at his anxiety for their welfare. And here let us bring this strange adventure to a close; we passed two days very pleasantly, during which we met with the most attentive hospitality, and I am unwilling to search for other motive; though, perhaps, it might principally be to induce me to engage in aid of a scheme to build mills upon a favourable situation on the Wabash river: this I mention, in order to take the opportunity of cautioning emigrants against engaging in the schemes, generally delusive, of the old settler or the American. However plausible they may appear, let him be the more cautious; it may happen that

[107] they answer — some do so; but nine individuals in ten of those who are drawn in are ruined notwithstanding; for they get wheedled out of their property by trick and chicanery, which the American laws too much favour.

Let those therefore who come into this country, and bring capital with a view to settle, take good care not to be in the least haste to lay it out: let them keep their money in their pockets and view a speculation on all sides; nay, turn it inside out before they venture a dollar in it: and above all, let the emigrant distrust his own judgment, and ever keep in mind that the American upon his own soil is in business and speculation an overmatch for Europeans. One material reason for which is, that he is not at all nice or scrupulous about the means, so he attains his end; which is money,— money,— for ever, money. It is therefore much safer for an emigrant to embark in business by himself than to trust his property in partnership; in the first case, he may at least know how he is going on; in the last, it is probable he never will until too late.

An instance of the result of delusive expectations, may be seen in the man who has been an inmate a long time past with my present host, and from whom the words of ill-omen proceeded on the night of our arrival. He was [108] born in a manufacturing district in England and brought up a builder and cabinet-maker: discontented, as truly too many have had reason to be, with the remunerations of his business he embarked, with his wife and a decent capital in money, for America. Set ashore upon its coast, he found not his sanguine expectations realized; therefore wandered into the western country, working at little gain for one person and another, until his capital was considerably lessened: when at length he met with this

gentleman, who engaged him to build the house in which we have been so well entertained; — with him, he has placed the remainder of his money, to be repaid to him with interest whenever a large bill due for his exertions shall be settled: — Perhaps his troubles and disappointments in this life may be over before this happens, for a rapid decline is carrying him off, and we will hope that then heaven will send a protector to the widow and the fatherless.

[109] A VISIT TO THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN THE ILLINOIS

On the third morning we made early preparations for departure; and accepting gladly the offer of the builder for a guide, we took leave of *Marvel Hall* and, not without considerable apprehensions of difficulties to come in getting away, started for the town of Albion, as the English settlement is called. According to expectation the way was not free from wood, bog, gully, and stump; but with the aid of day these obstacles were overcome without accident; and after having traversed several miles of woodland and prairie, covered with long grass and brushwood, and having lost our way once or twice, we at length crossed a narrow forest track, and rising an eminence entered upon the so-much talked-of Boulton House Prairie; just as the sun in full front of us was setting majestically, tinging with his golden rays what appeared to be a widely extended and beautiful park, belted in the distance with woodland over which the eye ranged afar. The ground was finely *undulated*, and here and there ornamented with interspersed [110] clumps of the White Oak and other timber, in such forms that our picturesque planters of highest re-

pute might fairly own themselves outdone. The effect was indeed striking, and we halted to enjoy it until the last rays of the beautiful luminary told the necessity of hurrying on to the settlement, in search of quarters for the night; indulging by the way sanguine hopes of an English supper and comfort as a matter of course at an English settlement. The road was good, yet the length of way made it nearly dark when we drove up to the log tavern; before the door and dispersed, stood several groups of people, who seemed so earnest in discourse that they scarcely heeded us; others, many of whom were noisy from the effects of a visit to the whiskey store, crowded round to look at us; and amidst the general confusion as we carried the luggage in (having first obtained a bed-room,) I was not a little apprehensive of losing some of it. However, we got all safely stored, and taking the horses off led them into a straw-yard full of others, for there was no stable room to be had; and what was worse no *water*, not sufficient even to sprinkle over some Indian corn which we got for them. The landlord did all that lay in his power, but our own fare proved little better than that of our horses, which spoke volumes [111] on the state of the settlement; some very rancid butter, a little sour bread, and some slices of lean fried beef, which it was vain to expect the teeth could penetrate, washed down by bad coffee sweetened with wild honey, formed our repast. We asked for eggs,— milk,— sugar,— salt; the answer to all was "We have none." The cows had strayed away for some days in search of water, of which the people could not obtain sufficient for their own ordinary drink; there being none for cattle, or to wash themselves, or clothes. After making such a meal as we could, and having spread our own sheets I laid down *armed at all points*, that is with gloves and stockings on, and a long

rough flannel dressing gown, and thus defended slept pretty well.

In the morning a request was sent to Mr. Birkbeck for some water, understanding that he had a plentifully supplied well; — the answer sent back was, that he made it a general rule to refuse every one: a similar application to Mr. Flower however met with a different fate, and the horses were not only well supplied, but a pitcher of good water was sent for our breakfast. If the first was not punished for his general refusal the latter was rewarded for his grant by finding on his grounds and not far from his house, two days after, a plentiful spring of clear [112] water, which immediately broke out on the first spit of earth's being removed; this real treasure I saw flowing; the discovery of it appeared miraculous in the midst of so general a drought.

We now sallied out to take a view of the settlement, which is marked out not on prairie, but on woodland, only just partially cleared here and there where a house is built; so that there is yet but little appearance of a town. A very neat roofed-in building for a market first attracts the eye; at one end, parted off with boards, and under the same roof is a very decent place of worship; which is at present of a size sufficient for the place.

While we were viewing this edifice a young Englishman introduced himself with a welcome to us, and hopes expressed that I should settle among them; he was, I found, the medical man of the place, and in himself certainly formed one inducement to stay, for he seemed to be a very pleasant communicative man, he possessed a very prettily finished picturesque cottage and seemed sanguine in his hopes of the success of the settlement. We visited a wheelwright next; one of the many who had been induced

by Mr. Birkbeck to emigrate soon after he himself left England: — The man's story is shortly this: he and his brother sailed [113] for America; and were induced by Mr. B.'s "Notes" to leave the Eastern parts where good employment was offered to them, and to repair to the Prairies. On arriving, he found none of the cottages ready for the reception of emigrants which *his reading* had led him to expect, nor any comforts whatever: he was hired however by Mr. B., and got a log hut erected; but for six months the food left for his subsistence was only some *reasty* bacon and Indian corn, with water a considerable part of the time completely muddy; while Mr. B., himself at Princetown and elsewhere, did not, as he might have done, send him any relief. On account of these hardships the man left him, set up for himself, and now has, he told me, plenty of work, but he seemed doubtful of the pay. These are the facts as related to me by others, and corroborated by the man: — If true, without some strong qualifying circumstances, I leave Mr. B. to settle with his conscience the bringing people out thus far, by his misrepresentations, to hopeless banishment; for return they cannot, though they would be glad so to do.

Our tavern-keeper, who was a very respectable farmer, left a good farm near Baldock in Hertfordshire, guided by Mr. Birkbeck's book, to find health, wealth, and freedom at Boulton-house [114] Prairie: of the two first both himself and family were quickly getting rid, while they were absolutely working each day like horses without one comfort left.—"How came you," said I, "to leave so good a farm as you had in England?" His answer was, "Mr. Birkbeck's book."—"You would be glad now to return?" added I. "Sir," said he, "we must not think that way; we have buried our property in getting here, and must here

remain!'' Such facts as these are worth a thousand flattering theories on the other side; and another may be here added,— perhaps a salutary caution to Mr. B. if this should be the first intimation — that the angry feelings of the poor people who had been entrapped by the deceptious colouring of his writings, flashed out in true English threats of tossing him in a blanket! I abstain from comment upon this, my business being to state facts. I forbear too from respect for a man of good natural abilities; misled himself by a sanguine temper which has been the cause of his misleading others: I will be silent too upon the subject of private differences, conceiving that public acts alone are those in which the public are interested, and ought to be inquisitive.

Mr. Flower followed up his seasonable supply of water, with a call and invitation to his house, [115] which was gladly accepted; being much disgusted at the deplorable state of ill health, anxious looks, despair and discontent, depicted in so many faces around,— to relieve or even alleviate which we possessed no means.

The contrast to this at Mr. Flower's was violent and pleasing; there, we met with every polite and hospitable attention during our stay, and from thence alone we were grieved to depart. In the midst of these wilds the elegant repast and social converse were again, as if by magic, enjoyed; and in such agreeable dissipation of mind the purposes of the journey were perhaps too much lost sight of, and many inquiries neglected which are now causes of regret. We did not fail however to explore the retreat of Mr. Morris Birkbeck,— a pleasant drive across the Prairie brought us to the Flat, at one extremity of which Mr. B. has established himself. We found him busy superintending the building of his house; the site of which

is within twenty yards of his erection of logs, a square building divided into two rooms, as I heard, for we did not see the interior of this *sanctum sanctorum* from whence have been issued relations of so many snug cottages, with adjoining piggeries, cow-steads, gardens, and orchards; where the limbs of the poor emigrant were to find repose and his [116] mind solace, not to mention the ranges of log rooms for the arch priest himself which were building two years ago;[39*] all — all have vanished "into thin air," except the humble primitive log building before mentioned. This serves the whole family, according to the cobbler's song,

"For parlour, for kitchen and hall;"

and furnishes a proof, though perhaps not sufficient for every one, (the world is so incredulous,) of Mr. Birkbeck's humility, for he certainly does not at present enjoy the *otium cum dignitate* whatever he may have in prospect.

Up to this log building with some meandering I drove; and seeing a little man, who by description received, appeared to be Major domo, I sent to tell him that an English traveller had called and begged to see his improvements; upon which he approached, and after salutation, turning towards and pointing to his primitive hut, observed that it was still his residence, to which so attached had he become that he should quit it with regret. He then drew my attention to his new house, which he said, was building according to a promise made to his daughters; and he invited us to inspect it. Alighting therefore, he led the way [117] over a sufficiently commodious dwelling, no part of which was yet finished but the library, placed at the gable end on the first floor and the approach to it up a high flight of stairs on the outside of the house: here we found

[39*] Mr. Birkbeck's letters from the Illinois.—WELBY.

the Misses B.; they were engaged in some ornamental needlework, and received us like sensible, agreeable girls. Upon the table lay a flute, an instrument upon which one of them plays; and every thing was well arrayed to give effect, as well as the sterling, good, and for a private library large assortment of books. A fine healthy boy, his son, came up and presented to us some bunches of wild grapes he had just gathered, the only refreshment I believe offered; and I took leave, after having in vain endeavoured to gain information as to his corn-crops, the success of clover, and other seeds.

This was strange, but not so particularly unaccountable as at the time I thought it; for, I afterwards learned he had not sown either one or the other, although he ventures to put forth this year in one of the American newspapers, what in charity we will suppose a day-dream — a pleasing mental deception, in the form of a letter in which he expresses himself thus; (I quote from memory having mislaid the journal,) "We have now about as many acres [118] of corn sown as there are settlers, that is seven hundred."

Now, from the best inquiries I could make, there was not then two hundred and fifty acres sown in the whole settlement, and on Mr. Birkbeck's ground not a rood! Therefore, it may be truly said, that the colony was still for its existence depending for bread upon the exertions of those who, from a distance of many miles, bought and brought corn and flour for the market. In corroboration, I will here insert an extract from a published journal by a Mr. Hulme,[40] formerly a great bleacher near Manchester, and a friend of Mr. B., who had lately paid him a visit. Mr. H. writes, "The whole of his operations had been

[40] Hulme's *Journal* has been reprinted in volume x of our series.— Ed.

directed hitherto (and wisely in my opinion,) to building, fencing, and other important preparations. He had done *nothing in the cultivating way but make a good garden*, which supplies him with the only things that he cannot purchase, and purchase too with more economy than he could grow them."

This Mr. Hulme knew the comforts and cheapness of Philadelphia, and its market, too well to think of settling at Boulton-house Prairie; besides, he evidently sneers, as much as a friend can, at the choice of situation Mr. B. has made, because it appears not to possess any [119] of the capabilities for mills, &c.: he adds, "I was rather disappointed, or sorry at any rate, not to find near Mr. Birkbeck's any of the means for machinery, such as waterfalls, minerals, and mines; some of those however he may yet find."

Thus has Mr. B. chosen to build a house, plant a garden, and dwell in a situation where he cannot grow corn so cheap as he can purchase it, and have it conveyed at a considerable expence from the settlement of Harmony,[41] distant above twenty miles; in a situation too, which if it have any recommendation at all, it must be for the purposes of agriculture, for others it has none that are yet discovered. This may be to the taste, and it may suit the purse of Mr. B., and no one could fairly find fault with him for pleasing himself; but, when he steps beyond this line, and publishes plausible representations to induce others to seek fortune and independence in such situations, he is then doing that which he has no right to do, and has much to answer for: he has led people into this wilderness where, for any thing

[41] The reader may suppose that corn might be grown at the English Prairie as cheap as at Harmony; *why* it cannot will clearly appear in the account of this Colony.— WELBY.

he has done, they may in vain look around for the expected shelter; they will see only Mr. B's house and garden, and perhaps [120] two or three log huts which at present constitute the whole of the new town of Wansborough; in short, he seems only to have thought of himself and to have falsified his public promises. I believe it to be a fact that the colony could not have outlived the winter of 1818, but that the whole must have been dispersed or starved, had it not been for the exertions of Mr. Flower; who perceived in time the coming want, and at considerable trouble and expence obtained a sufficient and timely supply. Mr. Birkbeck, in his publication, inveighs strongly against land-jobbing; yet if I am correctly informed he has obtained and is now gaining great profits by it,— he has entered as many as thirty thousand acres, which he now disposes of in lots as high, where he can, as four dollars per acre; it seems indeed to be his only business, to carry on which with better success he has given to others, it is said, an interest in the concern to find out and bring in purchasers of more money than judgment. One of these jackals, reported to be so employed, I met with on the road.

Having said thus much of an individual who has become noted for promissory books, and who therefore deserves to be noted for non-performance, let us turn to the contemplation of that which has been accomplished by those who did [121] not promise any thing, but who have done much. Mr. Flower, ably assisted by his father and in conjunction with a few others, has formed the settlement of New Albion, (an auspicious name;) and notwithstanding the miserably unprovided state in which I found it, much had certainly been done, and more was rapidly doing towards rendering the place habitable. Among other

well-judged resolutions, they had determined, that in future all the houses should be substantially built of bricks, for the manufacture of which they have, as I understood, plenty of good clay in the neighbourhood.

A neat covered market, and place of worship, as before observed, had been finished and opened to the public; to which I have to add that a roomy boarding house and tavern were half up; a store (shop) pretty well supplied was opened; a wheelwright has been already mentioned: besides this trade many other artisans had come in, and the chief want was a sufficiency of the several materials of their business to work upon; but fair expectations may be entertained that, ere this account shall be published, the place will have become well supplied with most of the common comforts of life, not excepting the essential of water.

It clearly appears, that at present the [122] produce of the earth can be *bought* cheaper than it can be *grown* here; but let us look forward to the period when this shall not be the case, and the time must surely soon arrive or the colony cannot long exist: — What then will be the prospect of a market that the settler will have for the produce, which shall be more than the consumption of the neighbourhood? It is this,— at about twelve miles distance is a place called Bon Pas, consisting of a tavern and two or three houses, situated upon a creek communicating with the Wabash river; to this creek, (the mud in which not always allowing boats to come up it,) as the nearest point from the English settlement to water carriage, all the corn and other exportable produce must be hauled by land; to be conveyed in boats down to Shawnee town on the Ohio,[42] (sixty miles,) and thence down that river and

[42] For the location of Bonpas Creek, see Flower's *Letters*, in our volume x, note 2; Shawneetown, Croghan's *Journals*, in our volume i, note 108.— Ed.

the Mississippi to New Orleans: there to be shipped either for Europe, or for the eastern ports of America. It must be obvious then, that the price which can possibly be allowed to the western grower, in order to meet the eastern farmer on equal terms in his own market, must ever make the business of the first a comparatively bad one: and as it is thus in the American markets so will it be in Europe; the freight from the eastern ports being so much less, as [123] the distance is less, and navigation safer; — but against this manifest disadvantage may be set the supposed greater fertility of the western country, and the less price of the land per acre: but it will never do.— These advantages, if granted, are more than counterbalanced by the higher price of all the imported articles of common consumption.

The best hope of the English settlement must be, that in the common course of events, the time may arrive when the population will be sufficient to make its own markets; and awaiting that period, they must be resigned to sink their immediate interests in the prospect of laying the foundation of future fortune for their posterity. Meanwhile, it may have attractions for many; whether on account of their principles religious or political, from general turn of mind, or misfortunes met with elsewhere; to such it may afford an asylum: but let none forget that the comforts of life are more than cent per cent dearer (and many are not to be obtained at all,) than they are in the eastern States; and that for this cause, more than the climate it is, that health is far more likely to be preserved in the old settled country, than here.

The strange heterogeneous mixture of characters which are collected hither by the magic [124] pen of Morris Birkbeck, is truly ludicrous. Among many others, a

couple now attend to the store at Albion who lately lived in a dashing style in London not far from Bond-street; the lady brought over her white satin shoes and gay dresses, rich carpets, and every thing but what in such a place she would require; yet I understand that they have accommodated themselves to their new situations, hand out the plums, sugar, whiskey, &c., with tolerable grace, and at least "do not seem to mind it." At Bon Pas we sat down to a wild turkey with a party among whom was an *exquisite*, so complete, that had it been the age of genies, I should have thought *it* had been pounced upon while lounging along Rotten-row, whirled through the air, and for sport set down in this wilderness to astonish the natives: the whole has truly a most pantomimic effect, and Momus might keep his court at this anomalous scene, and laugh to his full content.

Let us now bid adieu to the English settlement, my sentiments respecting which are, from what has been said, so obvious as to render any thing more unnecessary. We are taking the road to the German settlement called Harmony, and will only stop the wheels to make mention of the very complete farm yards and surrounding [125] buildings, which Mr. Flower has erected; also of his flock, consisting of upwards of four hundred sheep, which has been collected in a very short space of time and part of which he brought from England; these feed during the day upon the prairies, and are brought into the yards at night *for safety from the wolves and bears.*[43] A yoke of fine oxen too were daily plowing for him the prairie land, and preparing a considerable breadth of it for cultivation: — But though men of capital may thus in great measure bring many of their comforts with them, and attract

[43] A relation of Mr. Flower's shot a bear during my stay.— WELBY.

others, yet after all that can be said of this place it is at present a bad concern; from which it was with no small pleasure that I knew myself in a situation to get away; and many,— many expressed themselves to be of the same opinion, though with rueful faces, for they were obliged to stay, having spent their all to get there.

HARMONY

From Bon Pas (the future Emporium of the commerce of New Albion!) we soon crossed the Wabash at a ferry of difficult approach; for the [126] river banks are steep and high, and the descent is therefore rather dangerous for a carriage; we got over safe however, and then keeping the river close on the right, arrived in the evening at the German settlement, and put up at the excellent good tavern, neatness itself, but furnished in the very plainest manner, and beyond a three cornered arm chair, there was not a piece of furniture which could excite the repose of indolence or the indulgence of luxury. After a plain repast, accompanied however with some good beer and a bottle of white wine, both the produce of the colony, (for the last we paid one dollar,) we sallied out to take a view of a place which could afford such good cheer. Before we proceed to examine it, however, I am disposed to talk a little of the great cementing principle of the society —*a communion of goods.*— While the rest of mankind are given up to a selfish principle; while each one is amassing the possessions of this transitory scene, grasping them truly as if he were never to part with them, these people, under the guidance of their spiritual pastor M. Rapp, are shewing to the world the practicability of what they esteem the real christian principle; they are living in the

utmost harmony with a strict communion of property. All the products of the earth, which all contribute their share of labour [127] to produce, are deposited in the common stock, whence each one receives whatever may be required for his comforts. Indeed, what my host at the tavern told me seems perfectly true; "We have every thing we can want" says he, "for our comfort and *something more.*"

Nothing short of a pure religious principle (certainly not worldly interest,) could keep such a community in harmony; that here is an example of its doing so is at first view highly gratifying; it gives promise that the time may arrive when mankind may generally adopt it. Should it stand the test, it must bring conviction to all, what some think *now* must be the universal belief; at least *christians* must be convinced that the institution of property, with all its attendant "hard words, jealousies and fears" is incompatible with a religion which proclaims "peace on earth, good-will towards men," and prescribes mutual love and benevolence as essential to happiness here and hereafter.

This colony, (though they admit into their communion any one, who professing their principles and submitting to their rules wishes to be admitted among them,) is composed chiefly of poor Germans; who have fled from a despotic government, to enjoy quietly in this remote scene their religion, and the fruits of their industry: — [128] In their leader they place implicit confidence, and obey him with promptitude; he directs the labours of the day as well as their religious duties; and in neither is there any perceptible distinction made between the members of his own family and his flock. The same plain dress is worn by all, and all equally go to the labours of the field.

To shew the extent of their reliance on, and obedience to him, the following fact is sufficient: soon after the commencement of their settlement M. Rapp, foreseeing the serious difficulties which would arise from too quick an increase of their numbers, told them it was necessary that for the present they should not have any more children. He was obeyed for the necessary period; but the interdiction has been since removed and plenty of children were to be seen in proof of it. Mr. Birkbeck has misrepresented this temporary order as a fundamental law of the society, and takes occasion to condemn them for it; when in fact it was a very wise forecast, preventing the distress which would have certainly ensued from the want of sufficient provisions.

Let us now take a view of this interesting colony. The site is obviously well chosen on a good soil, rather elevated, and at a sufficient distance from the low grounds near the river for [129] the advantage of a healthy air: the streets are of spacious width crossing each other at right angles, and lined with Lombardy poplars: the houses, which at leisure are to be replaced by others of more durable materials, are at present log cottages of a pleasing picturesque plan, and very neatly thatched; to each is attached a garden, a yard, a shed, and out-house for the cow and other purposes, the whole having an air of great comfort. Near the inn in a square open space stands the church, which, though formed of wood and boarded, is a handsome large building. On one side this square is the house of the pastor, the materials of good brick. It is large, and finished in the best style of workmanship. Of the same material they have also built a spacious store which contains articles of grocery, hardware, and indeed every thing that the inhabitants of the surrounding coun-

The Church at Harmonie

try require, and with these it seemed to carry on great business: this store is guarded with close iron-barred windows, and its general appearance corresponding, I inquired what occasion *they* had for a prison? This caution is no compliment to the honesty of the settlers around. A large steam mill is at work constantly, where they grind corn, card wool, saw boards, &c.: they have also thrashing machines of great power and indeed [130] a vast variety of other machinery; they dye cloth pretty well: there are buildings ample for school instruction, and in short, (for, to enumerate every thing would require a long residence among them,) they seem to possess every comfort. The vines were loaded with beautiful ripe grapes both black and white; and they were fast covering the hills of sandy soil in the neighbourhood with new vineyards. It was the Indian-corn harvest, and the young women and children, standing in a large circle, were employed in stripping off the leaves and throwing the cobs into baskets, which the men carried into the barns on willing shoulders. We contemplated this scene with much pleasure and then proceeded to take a view of the country around the settlement; which we found cleared to great extent, and sown with wheat looking luxuriantly and promising abundance.

The whole here described, and probably much more might escape observation, has been effected in the short period of five years and a half! — They may fairly take for their motto *vis unita fortior*, for they have accomplished wonders by it; far more than money could have effected with mercenary workmen, and far better too, for here is no interest to deceive the employer; they work for themselves. But, though inclined, [131] I must not dilate upon this fascinating principle which seems to strike at

the root of most if not all of the moral evils of society; heartily hoping that its practicability may stand the test, and prove its sterling character, I shall therefore take leave of the subject with a few more observations, which will end what I have to say respecting this quiet industrious people. They keep no accompts of the several branches of their industry; — an annual taking of stock is all they think necessary; which is done in order to know the extent of their resources, and that they may be able to calculate their sufficiency to the wants for the year.

There was, I must confess after all, a dull sameness pervading the place, which I am willing to attribute rather to the phlegmatic German character than to their institutions. There is too, a depression of spirit which hangs about every man, far removed from the country which gave him birth, from those early scenes of childhood upon which his eye first rested with delight, and from those friends "he ne'er shall see again." Expatriated communities, like plants removed from the seed bed, for awhile sicken; but if planted in a genial soil they in time take firm root, again spread abroad their leaves, and flourish.

[132] Music they have, for we heard a grand pianoforte well played; they may have other instruments and also other amusements though I saw none; and their language, which I did not understand, precluded conversation, for no one, except my host of the tavern, not even M. Rapp, spoke English or French. The women, to use the phrase of a polite man, are the *least handsome* I ever beheld: the Colony therefore may possibly not be much disturbed by female intrigues, and thus be free from one other great cause of embroilment among mankind. To conclude my observations, they seem according to their own ideas a

happy people; and did they possess a little more liveliness, more polish, and talk English one might have lived among them, which is more than I felt inclined to do in any other society we met with.

October 3d. We were now considerably above four thousand miles from home. It was the original intention that we should winter at Vincennes, on which account various necessaries had been sent from Philadelphia as well as brought with us; but I had already nearly *seen enough*, and having been informed, also judging from what I had seen,

> (Of hair-breadth 'scapes i' the imminent *river banks*
> ——— *Morasses* vast and desarts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven;)

[133] that the roads of Indiana were seldom passable for wheels in the spring of the year, and not until the beginning of summer, I began to think that a winter and following spring passed in the western country, might leave the choice of a winter passage home or the further delay of another year; which would be too long a detainer from old England: and we therefore entertained thoughts of getting back before winter to one of the eastern ports, whence, if necessary, we might embark at any time during the winter, or otherwise to stay till spring. Not to lose time and fair weather therefore, in getting back to Vincennes to make arrangements for the return, we quitted the interesting Colony of Harmony early in the morning; having to drive thirty miles to Princetown[44] the nearest station. Throughout the whole of my journey, though sometimes at a loss, I was fortunate enough not once to *lose* the way; a circumstance partly owing to being very

[44] A brief account of the early settlement of Princeton may be found in Hulme's *Journal*, volume x of our series, note 17.— Ed.

particular in noting directions whenever they could be obtained — a plan that cannot be too strongly recommended to travellers through difficult countries. Let them not be content with directions from one individual, but ask every one they may meet; I have often had cause to repent confidently passing a person, and within half a mile after have found myself in uncertainty: this [134] was the case on leaving Harmony after obtaining what we thought full directions; but people who know a country are hardly ever sufficiently circumstantial to a stranger.

In a few miles we passed in the midst of the forest a solitary meeting-house, and soon after met several respectable looking people on horseback in their Sunday clothes coming to it. We were this day probably beholden to our fire-arms for safety; and though many travellers do not carry them, I strongly recommend all those who have any property not to omit it. A ruffian-looking fellow had introduced himself to me at Harmony, under pretence of shewing a note which he had received, he said, above thirty miles westward, and which proving to be a forgery he must go back to exchange. He wanted much to be informed of my route, but this of course I avoided telling, and thought no more of him; but to-day, instead of going back as he had said, we suddenly saw him riding after us upon a wretched horse, and he soon passed with such a dogged look that I had no doubt on my mind of his intentions, which were the more confirmed by his stopping afterwards frequently and looking about and at us. So we got under arms; I placing the rifle between my legs as I drove, and the pistols at my side: he evidently wavered [135] in his resolution, apprehensive that more people might be near on their way to the meeting, and perhaps not liking our number. We soon came up with him, however,

at a log-hut, where he was fortifying with whiskey; and as we marched past we took care he should see we were prepared: he looked hard, but before we were out of sight struck off in another direction and we saw him no more.

Slept at Princetown; where there was found nothing more important to note than a tolerable good inn, and some blackberry wine of my host's own manufacture, for a bottle of which he had the conscience to charge a dollar, and "by the light of the moon" next evening we got safe back to Vincennes, and found those of our party left there during this expedition all well. From this pleasant town we made short excursions in the neighbourhood, and a week passed in irresolution whether to winter or to attempt the return at this season; for various were the representations and advice upon the subject: among the inducements to stay there is plenty of shooting of all kinds, the place is healthy, and we had the offer of a furnished house.— If the reader has been called upon to act under circumstances where the *pros* and *cons* have been so equally balanced, that it seemed not possible to refer the affair to the [136] decision of the judgment,— perhaps *he* has tossed up. *I* did not, but I resolved to go: and having once determined, the necessary arrangements were soon made; the baggage waggon and its contents to a considerable value were intrusted to the *honour* and *honesty* of a Vincennes merchant,[45] and with my dearborn, and luckily all the four horses, on the 11th October, I commenced

[45] On returning to Philadelphia, and stating how I had disposed of the baggage I was greeted with grins and smiles; one said he would not give fifty dollars for my chance, another offered ten, and in short I found that no *smart fellow* thought of trusting another in America; and that he who should think himself safe under the pledge of honour or honesty was considered a flat and deserving to be taken in! At Vincennes I had yet to learn this at the expense of at least a thousand dollars.— WELBY.

my retreat. I intended to take the same route homeward as far as Zanesville, (Ohio,) and from thence by a northerly course to Lake Erie, proceed to the Falls of Niagara, then to Albany and down the north river to New York; but the lateness of the season afterwards induced me reluctantly to alter the plan, and to return through Maryland.

In retracing our steps we shall not have occasion for much observation, until we take new ground on entering the State of Maryland.

From Vincennes the first week brought us to Louisville; a distance of near one hundred and [137] fifty miles. I had been instructed, by the persons who cashed my bill at Vincennes, to consult with a broker of this town who was requested to exchange those notes which were not at par for others that were so, taking a per centage for the transaction — he did so; and the reader is informed, in order that he may have some idea of the state of the banks and of public credit, that twenty-five per cent or one quarter was the difference of value of notes between Louisville and Vincennes.[46]

The end of the second week brought us again to Maysville, or Limestone on the Ohio, which divides Kentucky from Ohio State. The country does not lose on the review; even in Indiana it seems to be cultivated to greater extent than at first sight it appeared to be; the weather is delightful, and the various tints with which the foliage

[46] This depreciation will appear nothing when compared with the following. Towards the close of the struggle for independence a Mr. S***** travelled westward in order to collect some out-standing debts; after receiving which in notes and on his road home, he actually paid within sixteen miles of Philadelphia, three hundred dollars for a breakfast, and even this bargain he would not have been able to make, he found on his return, to that city! — The government have never been able to enter into any arrangements to redeem these notes.— WELBY.

glows is far beyond the reach of pen or pencil. This season is called here the *Indian* [138] *summer*, and indeed the agreeable temperature of the air, the beauty of the day, and the variety of forest scenery I could much wish to describe though vain would be the attempt. Let the reader imagine the finest autumnal day in England, and suppose an unvaried succession of such days, as far from oppressive heat as from cold; let him then cull from our woods every tint of autumn's foliage, heighten every colour in imagination, and add more; then perhaps he may have a faint idea of the Indian summer season.

At Lewis's tavern in Indiana we witnessed a fine appearance of the aurora borealis; beautiful columns of light in constant motion and of great breadth continually darted upward, extending and shortening by turns while others crossed these; the whole moved gradually towards the west. At this place we were overtaken by a lady and gentleman, their child and nurse, returning from Lexington from an excursion to the new settlement of Indostan on the White river; — they travelled in their own carriage, (a chariot) it may therefore be well supposed that the roads were tolerably good. Their arrival caused a good deal of consultation and contrivance for the night's accommodations; there was but one room for both [139] parties, which, by hanging up sheets and other substitutes for curtains, was at length divided into four; — beds were then spread, and all slept quietly without furnishing any scene in which either Scarron or Fielding would have delighted: 'tis true we set fire to the log chimney, for the night was cold, and we had piled the faggots a little too high, but this was luckily seen before retiring to rest, or it might have been attended with serious consequences to us. My host, a shrewd spirited little fellow, strutting about in the

short cloak a l'Espagnol worn here, and with his black worsted remains of stockings full of holes, which did not in the least damp his self-conceit, told me next morning, on my remarking the scarcity of houses of entertainment for travellers, that indeed another *good* house besides his own was much wanted on the road.

Great is the facility of acquiring money here if a man has judgment; he first looks out for some spot where a tavern is wanted, he immediately cuts down the trees around and puts together a rude log hut, which he covers with shingles (wood tiles;) a board is then inscribed "tavern," or "house of entertainment." Inside you find it very sparingly furnished, but he has got some fowls and spirits, and if he minds, his fortune is made. Travellers are plentiful, and his charges [140] as high as if he could treat them with every comfort, instead of putting two people *commonly*, and sometimes three, into a bed; in a room, too, containing four, five and six beds! The horses are put into another inclosure of logs, the interstices of which near a foot wide, (in summer an advantage,) are not at all closed even during the severity of winter.

At Paoli town, Indiana, we arrived on the day of militia muster, and found there a considerable concourse of people, for it appeared to be a holiday. It would have been idle to look for the regular uniform, correctness of evolutions and discipline, where probably neither the power nor the wish to attain these existed; a few only wore a uniform of neat grey colour with sash and long feather; the rest in the usual dress, and each man armed with his rifle. The amusement or chief exercise of the day, beyond the roll call, seemed to be firing at marks, at which they have justly established a character for great dexterity. Yet the American has but little skill with his arms in hitting

a moving object, whether running or flying; indeed he scarcely ever attempts it, and he must too have his accustomed weapon or it is a chance if he succeeds; — a man dexterous with his rifle was admiring the pistols I carried, and wished to [141] try them; he shot twice at fifteen paces without even hitting the tree on which the mark was placed: that the pistols may not be supposed faulty, I mention, though *no practiser* with the weapon, that I hit close to the mark each shot, and with both, for he would change thinking mine might be the best. The same person with his own rifle without a rest, (which aid by the way is frequently taken advantage of,) at sixty yards shot from a tree a piece of paper no larger than we could see. Towards evening the multitude dispersed, and again the silence of the desert prevailed.

At Louisville we first saw the effects of a violent epidemic disease which had attacked the horses, and many were dying of it. The disorder appeared first upon the tongue, without any previous symptoms of fever that I perceived; blebs or blisters rose, broke, and increasing in number the whole tongue shortly became completely skinned and much swelled; the malady extended itself gradually down the throat, and the animal died, more it would appear from inability to take in food than immediately owing to the disorder.— Almost every horse we met on the road had caught the infection; at Louisville and Frankfort, at the last in particular, I saw near forty altogether in one yard: various were the [142] modes of treatment; some bled them and gave physic upon the first appearance; diet, soft mashes with nitre honey and the insides of gourds: the animals seemed to suffer greatly from hunger. The local applications were a mixture of copperas, alum, and blue vitriol pulverized and rubbed upon

the tongue twice or more each day, in order to destroy the activity of the disease, and a frequent washing between these applications, with honey and alum water. This was the mode of treatment I adopted,[47] for three of my horses caught it, and they all recovered, though one was reduced so low that I was obliged to exchange him at Maysville. With the others we continued the journey without the delay of one day, and they were in better condition on re-entering Philadelphia than when they left it.

At Lexington (Kentucky) we stopped at the Indian Queen which is a good house. Another change of notes became here necessary; those of the Bank of the United States were not to be procured, and no others being received with any certainty on the road, I sold the notes changed at Louisville for dollars at a further discount of two and a half per cent, and even [143] for this bargain I was again beholden to the good offices of the same gentleman who had kindly cashed my draft when going westward. My dollars were put into a bag, and as I returned swinging them along to the tavern, the weight caused some reflections on the different effects on mankind of specie and paper as circulating mediums; — the first, by its weight obviously tends to make one think more of expenditure even in small sums; the latter, by the facility it affords of carrying in the pocket-book sums of any magnitude must have a directly reverse effect; — perhaps one of the greatest evils attendant upon the paper money system may be attributed to this cause, and the very inconvenience which I now experience of carrying an inconsiderable sum in specie might therefore, if general, be an im-

[47] I added to the diet, strong gruel of Indian corn meal, or wheat flour, which enabled them to travel.— WELBY.

portant means of raising the value of money, and of establishing economy in public and private affairs.

25th. Quitted Mr. Chamber's hospitable house at Maysville; and crossing the river ascended the steep hill which immediately presents itself in the State of Ohio.— On reaching the top we received the first intimation of a change of weather — snow had fallen and did not disappear the whole day from the shade; gales of wind now blew, and rain had lately fallen in different [144] parts in sufficient quantity to render the roads wretchedly bad: our progress was now slow and frequently difficult; — we passed several laden waggons of emigrating parties either set fast in the clay and digging out, or broken down and waiting for the aid of some distant blacksmith. This was a sad change of scene, however we kept up a good spirit, and having a light though strong carriage, good cattle, and helping these with our own exertions up some of the steepest hills, we surmounted all difficulties, and arrived without accident the end of the fourth week at Washington, Pensilvania, distant from Vincennes about five hundred miles.

Travellers, whether through unformed tracks of distant countries or over the mighty mass of waters, must possess minds little susceptible of impression, if they do not, in such situations, feel themselves more peculiarly under the protecting hand of providence. To pass safely a length of way, where a false step might frequently bring destruction, is alone a subject of thankfulness; but to have seen themselves within a moment, a hair's breadth of destruction, and to be preserved, must bring the sentiment to their minds with tenfold force: one day while traversing Ohio State, a gust of wind blew off the top of a large dead tree, which fell with a [145] tremendous

crash on the spot over which in another moment of time we should have been passing!

At West Union, a small town with a good court-house, we had intended to sleep; but on arriving found the whole place full of people and to obtain beds impossible; at which the owners of the tavern very civilly expressed their regret, and though in the midst of hurry and bustle thought to speak for beds to the owner of a good private house, three or four miles further who happened to be in the inn. While the horses were feeding however, we went into a room, the table of which was covered with a profusion of fowls, ham, veal, beef, and many other symptoms of plenty; to partake of which the hostess very hospitably pressed us, and, that we might not be backward in accepting her proffered good cheer, assured us that it would be no loss to them, as every thing on the table would be swept away not to appear again; for especially upon these occasions nothing was ever brought on a second time.—"Have you no poor people to accept of the remains?" said I. She knew but of one family, she replied, to whom it could possibly be acceptable, and she did not think even these would receive it. An additional instance this, proving that food is abundant in [146] this country. Paid here for a new horse-shoe about eighteenpence sterling.

In passing through Ohio, the Derbyshire of the United States, we found in the sitting-rooms coal fires used almost generally in preference to wood; but from an extraordinary prejudice, which even exists at Philadelphia and other places, wood is still used for the purpose of cookery, and they will not believe that a dinner can be dressed properly at a coal fire.

We again slept at Wheeling, and again were much

Bridge at Zanesville, Ohio

pleased with the situation. Old Major Sprigs[48] did us the honour to entertain us at his very good house, though it was very perceptible that he, in common with so many more, is not in charity with English blood: as a proof of the feeling, he was complaining of the rats about his premises, none of which vermin, he said, "were to be found in the country before the English brought them!"

This is the beginning of the season for Venison. A man came to the door with a horse-load which the Major bought for threepence sterling per lb., the price asked. Let not the reader long for American venison and fancy it to resemble a fine haunch fed in an English park; it is lean and more like horse-flesh, with very few exceptions.

Many families and other parties were still waiting [147] here, and at other places where we had crossed the Ohio, until the rising of its waters should enable them to pass down to the west: this did not happen, I was told, in the past year until the month of December; and to all appearance it may be as late this season; during the interval these poor people are exhausting their resources, losing their time, and at last will pass down the river at a most unpleasant and dangerous season of the year, if the ice should permit, a circumstance not probable: those travellers therefore, who intend such mode of conveyance, (a very pleasant one in summer,) should not start later than May; as the waters rapidly subside after June, when it frequently happens that none but light and nearly flat-bottomed boats can get down.[49]—[148] The rivers of

[48] A short sketch of Major Spriggs will be found in Faux's *Journal, ante,* note 113.— Ed.

[49] It was in the beginning of November when I crossed the Ohio near Louisville; at that time a fine new steam vessel, of I believe two hundred and fifty tons burthen, was waiting the rise of the water. What a daily loss this detainer must have been to the proprietors! Many people were staying at Louisville

North America it must be acknowledged are grand, but this annual loss of water will perhaps ever be a drawback to their utility which no art can remedy. I am more than half inclined, however, to withdraw this opinion, for American enterprise is alive to the object; and two works which I saw in progress, and which by this time may be finished, give promise that much may be accomplished; — one of these is at Louisville, where a canal cut at great expense will enable vessels to avoid the Falls of the Ohio, dangerous at all times, and often impassable;[50]— another on the Schuylkil, where the aim is to deepen the water sufficiently to render it at all times navigable.[51] Weirs are carried at certain distances nearly across the river, leaving a space for a short canal with two locks to pass vessels.

Should this plan become generally adopted on those

in order to go passengers by her to New Orleans, a journey of between fifteen hundred and two thousand miles, which was to be performed in six days independent of wind: to get back it would require three or four weeks. This vessel was to convey the western mail to New Orleans — the accommodations in every respect were excellent and the whole interior was fitted up in the most complete manner; the price to New Orleans for each passenger was, I understood, forty dollars.— WELBY.

Comment by Ed. The first steamboat mail to New Orleans was carried in this year by Captain Shreve upon his boat, named in honor of the occasion, "Post-Boy."

[50] Plans for a canal around the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), were projected early in the nineteenth century. The Ohio Canal Company was incorporated in 1809-10, Congress and the Kentucky legislature conditionally subscribing for shares of its stock, but nothing was accomplished. About ten years later the Jeffersonville Ohio Canal Company was organized to build the canal around the Indiana side of the falls. Construction was begun, but again the project fell through. Finally the Louisville-Portland canal was commenced in 1825 and completed in 1830, Congress having assisted to the extent of 2,335 shares of stock. This canal soon proved inadequate, and in 1872 it was surrendered to the national government. An enlargement was immediately undertaken, being completed in 1881.— ED.

[51] Another intention by raising the waters of the Schuylkill is, I understood, to supply Philadelphia with its water.— WELBY.

View at Fort Cumberland, Maryland

rivers where the navigation fails annually from the loss of water, it will, among other good results, conduce essentially to the health of the climate; by preventing the stagnant pools left in hollows, and the exposure of slime and mud to the sun, now the pregnant source of disorders.

Where, or when an American uses water for the purpose of washing more than his face and fingers, [149] does not appear, for no water ever goes up stairs at a tavern unless your own servants take it. Under the shed of the house, water and tin basons are placed in the morning, and each one on coming down rubs his face and hands over; — they may bathe perhaps in the rivers occasionally; if not, they are decidedly dirty people.— An English youth at our inn at Wheeling in order to wash himself a little more effectually, let his shirt down to his waistband; an attempt at cleanliness so unusual, caused a general surprise and laugh among the *yahoos*.

At a small place called Claysville, a stage from Washington (Pensilvania), a man came to offer to the tavern-keeper for sale a fat pig; the price he demanded was about two shillings and sixpence sterling per stone of fourteen pounds, and I was told that he would have taken a quarter less.— Another proof this, if one were wanting, of the cheapness and plenty of food.[52]

We stayed a day at Washington, Pensilvania, comfortably received at Mr. Morris's good tavern, and then took a new route by the south-west corner of this State: crossing the Monongahela river we baited at Brownsville,[53] at an excellent house kept by Mr. Evans, an emigrant; from

[52] This year fine new cyder was plentiful in Ohio State, at a dollar a barrel of thirty gallons.— WELBY.

[53] For the early history of Washington and Brownsville, see our volume iii: F. A. Michaux's *Travels*, note 23; Harris's *Journal*, note 32.— ED.

[150] thence, by a fine new road through Union Town,[54] we soon entered the picturesque State of Maryland, and arrived at a small town called Fort Cumberland. The traveller by this route will pass the mountains scarcely knowing it, except from the fine views of the subjacent country which are frequently presented to view; that from the top of the hill about eleven or twelve miles west of Cumberland is truly magnificent. Along this well-formed road we pass without once being stopped to pay toll, and I understood it to be the intention of the United States government to finish and support this western road, from Washington the seat of the government down to New Orleans, by a fund to be raised solely for that purpose; a liberal plan and worthy of imitation. Of the few picturesque stations it has been our lot to see, Fort Cumberland stands first; it is not in itself a town of any importance or containing many good buildings, but surrounded as it is by mountains covered with beautiful foliage, and its stream winding through the vale, it forms a whole worthy the pencil of a master: at the distance of about six miles are some natural curiosities of rock, cave, and waterfall, which, owing to the lateness of the season, I did not chuse to lose a day in viewing though invited to it by the respectable old Patriarch of [151] the settlement, who in his ninetieth year yet offered to walk and accompany us to the scene.

The reader will be mistaken if, from what has been said of good roads and fine weather, he supposes we meet with nothing else; from a few miles off Wheeling until this day or two, the air has been filled with what in England would be thought a thick fog,— here they say it is smoke

[54] A short sketch of Uniontown and Fort Cumberland may be found in Harris's *Journal*, volume iii of our series, notes 47, 49.— Ed.

View at Fort Cumberland, Maryland

arising from burning barrens and prairies which are yearly at this time set on fire; indeed we have lately passed near enough to woodland on fire to see the flames and to hear the crackling of the timber; to our eyes a melancholy sight, accustomed as they have been to value and admire the forest growth. This brings to remembrance what has been told me of the great danger, and of lives lost in the Prairie country, from the custom of setting fire to the long grass in order to obtain a fine beautiful herbage, which, in a few weeks after succeeds it: the devouring element assisted by the wind advances so quickly that the speed of a horse has sometimes proved unavailing. The effect upon the long rushy grass as the fire reaches it, is frightfully grand; the heat first elevates and then throws it forward like waves, thus crossing the country at a rate inconceivably rapid; — instances have occurred of houses, cattle, and people suddenly falling a sacrifice to this rash [152] method of clearing the ground: the way to avoid such a catastrophe, the neglect of which occasioned to Mr. Flower the loss of some stacks, is to mow the herbage to a sufficient distance round the premises.

Nor is this danger to be apprehended only in the Prairie country. An emigrant, crossing the mountains some few years ago, wrote thus back to his alarmed friends, "the fire is before and behind me, I dare neither go forward nor return, and what will become of me I know not:" as his letter came safe we will hope he escaped.

Within this week a considerable number of waggons laden with goods and people have passed on their way to the Western country: as this Indian summer cannot last much longer, these parties would seem to be some of the improvident of the earth not to have moved earlier to their destination.

November 13th. The journey to-day, though over high hills and tremendous rocky ways, has been one of the pleasantest drives we have experienced: the clouds were just sufficiently broken to throw as they flew, endless and varied light and shade over the most beautiful and extensive views; rocks of various forms presented their rugged surfaces amongst the thick growing Pines and Oaks which, though small and stunted compared [153] to those in the Western country, are not on that account the less picturesque; and though the land is also equally inferior, yet such scenery, healthy air, and good water, must I conceive render Maryland a desirable residence to the man of refinement and property, in preference to any part that I have seen.

14th. A day more beautiful never opened or continued throughout. The national road not being finished we had twelve miles of the old track yet to pass, over rocks and gullies.

Maryland is a country of high narrow ridges, much rock, and but little land of prime quality; the timber, chiefly pine and oak, is small,— the rock which on this route everywhere abounds, is much of it strongly impregnated with iron; there is also much of it limestone and granite. Ridge after ridge we passed, rewarded by many an extensive and beautiful view, until at length after an hour's toil up Sidling Hill we entered upon the new road and bowled along down to the small town of Hancock near the Potomac, skirting that beautiful river to Fredericktown.

18th. Fredericktown[55] stands in a good situation, having a fine view of the ridges of hills immediately west of it. The place is about half the size of Lexington (Ken-

[55] For a brief account of Fredericktown, see A. Michaux's *Travels*, in our volume iii, note 70.— Ed.

tucky): the inhabitants seem to be rich, having erected many good [154] buildings both public and private, the latter very tastefully and expensively furnished. The Court-house, a handsome building, stands in a square which is *yet to be* gravelled; on one side we remarked a lofty shed under which were hung an enormous pair of scales, seemingly typical of the purposes to which the central building is devoted. Churches are plentiful, nine in number and some of them well built. Talbot's tavern excellent and good attendance, but charges, as they are every where on this road, very high.

This is a Slave State; an institution hateful to English ears; yet I will observe again that after travelling through three slave States, I am obliged to go back to theory to raise any abhorence of it: not once during the journey did I witness an instance of cruel treatment, nor could I discover anything to excite commiseration in the faces or gait of the people of colour — they walk, talk, and appear at least as independent as their masters; in animal spirits they have greatly the advantage: doubtless there may be instances of cruelty, but I am inclined to think that such are of rare occurrence, and this for other reasons, as before remarked, besides those of humanity. Upon the question "What is the proper place of the Black in the order of creation?" (a subject which, after so much has been said on both sides, yet remains [155] in dispute,) the tendency of the above observations may seem to place him subordinate to the white — the next link in that chain of gradation, almost imperceptible to us, which nature exhibits throughout all her works: yet is the man of colour in general orderly in his conduct under the every-day duties of life, and also instances are not wanting of superior abilities among them, though they have not had per-

haps fair-play shewn them in this respect. I may have occasion to observe more hereafter on this subject, meanwhile let it console the philanthropist, that if the black is not in his proper place, yet he possesses comforts, and appears very contented.

19*th.* At Baltimore. The view is fine from an eminence about half a mile from the town, nor are you disappointed on entering the city; though not so large, it is yet the most pleasing by far of the three eastern ports we have visited: whether the beauty and taste, the variety and neatness of the buildings, both public and private be considered, or the plan and situation — the whole is indeed strikingly interesting. A beautiful marble column is in part finished, a national monument to the memory of those who fell in the battle at North Point;[56] not far from this is in progress a superb Catholic cathedral, and close to it stands a Unitarian church, an edifice not surpassed [156] in beauty by any in the city. Besides these there are a variety of churches and other public buildings: one of the most prominent the College of Physicians, a very heavy combination, and not rendered the more pleasant by, we will hope, the inappropriate neighbourhood of a burial ground. On the whole the traveller cannot but be pleased with a view of Baltimore and the State of which it is the chief town.

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[56] The British forces under Major-General Ross landed at North Point, at the mouth of the Patapsco, twelve miles from the city. Proceeding along the North Point Road to Baltimore (September 12, 1814), they had marched about four miles when their advance was checked by the American forces under General Stricker. A sharp engagement followed, in which Ross was killed, but the American troops were forced to fall back towards Baltimore.

The battle monument, situated on Monument Square, was begun in 1815 and completed ten years later. It is not a national memorial, but was erected by the citizens of Baltimore. In 1839 Baltimore dedicated a second monument on the North Point battle-ground.— Ed.

On leaving Baltimore about half a mile, a large burial ground presents itself on the road side: the Americans inclose these places with little or no fence, and very frequently bury their dead with little or no ceremony; — as we passed this ground a man within it was carrying a child's coffin under his arm, which he was going to inter apparently by himself.— Mr. Birkbeck mentions the summary method in the western country of felling a tree across the spot where they inhume a body: but the tree had sometimes been removed, and we frequently drove over hillocks in the wilderness under which lay the bones of the departed.

The road now led along the western edge of the grand bay of Chesapeak, of which we caught frequent and delightful views — here indeed may America justly pride herself; her bays and rivers stretching to a great distance from the coast — [157] surely nothing in nature can exceed for grandeur or utility. Havre de Grace at the mouth of the Susquehannah is a small place, but beautifully and healthfully situated: it was burned by us during the last war, they say upon very small provocation, which has given a blow to the little prosperity it enjoyed; and a bridge now building at a short distance up the river, by rendering the ferry useless and turning the present road, will further hurt it. One of the greatest dainties, the canvas-back duck, is here obtained in great numbers and sent to Philadelphia and Baltimore markets; though this was the season for them, we were not so fortunate as to feast upon the delicacy. The Susquehannah is navigable for large vessels to the bridge, and for small craft, I was informed, for near five hundred miles up the country.

The tavern at Havre de Grace is far better than that on the opposite shore; we had good beds and attendance.

The ferry, about a mile wide, is well managed; on landing, we drove on through Elkton, Christiana, and Newport to Wilmington, a large town near the Delaware, and a place of some trade: the State Bank is a good building. At night reached Chester; the first inn was quite full and the next nearly so, which appeared very unaccountable; but on enquiry learned that it is [158] the chief *retiring place* for Debtors, where in about five weeks residence they get cleared of the *Dun disease* and come out themselves again.

23*d*. A beautiful day: breakfasted near the small town of Darby, and shortly after once again entered Philadelphia, after an absence of four months, and a journey of above two thousand five hundred miles performed in good health and with much interest throughout.

I now take leave of the Western country of the United States; and although the reader may perhaps be enabled to gather from the foregoing observations sufficient whereon to judge for himself, yet it may be proper to sum up that which I have to say upon it; and it may be done in a few words: — First addressing all those who are possessed of capital, I will state, that if they are content to undergo for their own lives many difficulties, and to make a certain sacrifice of many of the little comforts they can possess and have been used to enjoy at a moderate cost in England, they may then for a trifling sum establish their posterity upon a good estate in America, which hereafter may place *them* in affluence; and this may be accomplished at a distance far short of the Prairies of Illinois; — but let them be again reminded [159] that it must be done at some risk, much trouble, and a certain sacrifice of many of their own comforts: so much for those who look forward.

As to immediate prospects, taking the different ranks, professions, and businesses in turn, I must first assure the gentleman and the idle man that they have *no business* in any part of the territory. The farmer who has been accustomed to the regular markets, the constant labourers, and the comforts of an English hearth, will here find the reverse of all these and more; not so bad perhaps in the country nearest to the eastern cities as in the west, where labour to manage more than a small portion of his land is not to be had; and if it could, there is either no market, or it is so distant that the small price he can obtain for his grain renders it little worth growing; whilst this very distance from market which thus acts against him, also renders the price of all groceries at least double that which it is in the Eastern States.[57] For professional men I saw no opening, unless it may be for dissenting teachers in religion.— There are many young physicians spread about the country who keep taverns for their support; as to lawyers, there are enough for the population. [160] For manufacturers there may perhaps be found some employ: but it is principally the young poor man who can turn his hand to anything — the stout agricultural labourer, for whom this country is at present calculated; here such men may, with reasonable labour and activity, in a short time realise a little property, and after living in comparative plenty and comfort, leave their families to enjoy the same with independence. It is emphatically the country for the poor man; but he must not go thither, as many have done, expecting no difficulties to be encountered, no privations to be endured; nor must he be disheartened at

[57] Some farmers, on this account, feed their cattle with corn, and thus putting it upon legs send them to the Eastern markets; we met many large droves of these cattle.— WELBY.

finding a cool reception, and work not immediately offered on his arrival at the Eastern ports; — he must push forward westward without idly stopping to spend his money and waste his time; work his way if money runs short (he may at all places get food at least for his services,) until he arrives at a place where hands are wanted and good wages are offered for them; he has then a fair and near prospect of comfort, taking care only to be industrious, frugal, and especially to avoid habits of drinking, a vice the most difficult to withstand where the spirits of the country are to be obtained for half a crown the gallon.

There are people with us in England who object [161] to giving the poor man any facility of emigration, and who are disposed to condemn prospects held out to him of improving his present condition by a change of country; I shall not stop to argue with such narrow policy and truly anti-christian reasoners more than to say, that I will leave them to point out, for I cannot, even in a political point of view, any loss to a country arising from the emigration of a *redundant* population.

A WINTER AT PHILADELPHIA

Though a winter passage across the Atlantic may be quick it is almost always unpleasant; this thought, aided by a wish to see a little more of the climate and people ere I should bid to both farewell, determined me to stay till spring. The following notes and reflections are the fruit of the protracted residence, and they are presented to the reader nearly as they stand in my journal: in their nature they must be desultory, and by essaying to render them more connected, the little interest they may possess might be made yet less.

December 6th. A beautiful day, even warm, as indeed the mid-day has hitherto been, yet the [162] thermometer in an east room window opened at early morning stood at 33°.

Rode with D***** to the view on the Schuylkil called the "Flat Rock." On the way called at Mr. Fletcher's screw factory,— Mr. F. took pains to explain to us the machinery, though after all we best understood the *result*; one of the machines cut the iron rod into proper lengths and turned out seven screws complete per minute; with only the attendance of a boy, it forms thirty-five gross per day. Two miles more partly along the bank of the river, and amongst its beautiful scenery, brought us to the Flat Rock, and we crossed by an inclosed wood bridge. One of the dams which have been already mentioned is here formed, and there is a canal on one side with locks for the passage of vessels; — the broad cascade of the silvery waters sparkling in the sun over the dam, and the high, broken, and wooded banks of the river, presented a scene, even without the aid of foliage, enchanting. We returned by the old Lancaster road, making a pleasant ride of about twenty miles. In the evening called with D**** on Mr. H. This gentleman's life affords an instance of successful industry, by no means uncommon in this country of enterprise and speculation; it is also interwoven with some extraordinary incidents. At setting out in life's [163] career he and a brother laid out their several portions in goods such as they judged best for the market, and with them sailed for this country: the venture proved fortunate; the goods were quickly sold to great profit, and his brother again set sail for England to purchase more with the produce. But here a cruel disappointment awaited Mr. H., for his relative instead of pursuing the intentions of his

voyage, engaged on his arrival in Europe in other speculations, lost the whole of the money, and his anxious partner in America, when riches seemed already to be within his grasp, received notice of his brother's misconduct, and found himself suddenly reduced to his last shilling, in a foreign land, and without a friend! Young and active, however, his mind bore up against poverty, and, though at the age now of three and twenty, he took the resolution to bind himself apprentice to a trade of which he already knew a little; at this he served his time; by steadiness and application perfected himself in the business; then set up for himself in prosperous times, and rapidly made a handsome income, which he now comfortably enjoys. Let us here venture reverentially to trace the moral justice of Providence in the life of the brother, who, though enterprising and at one period apparently prosperous, was reduced by successive losses; — [164] was taken by the French and imprisoned for several years; — being at length set at liberty he got together sufficient money to freight a vessel at one of the southern ports of that country, but which in coming round from thence for England was lost; and himself also soon after perished at sea.

9th. Just returned from a shooting excursion in Jersey. We saw pheasants, partridges, and rabbits, but few of any of these were shot: the American pheasant seems half grouse, the partridge half quail, and the rabbit half hare.[58] Buffon and the Abbè Raynal[59] have both remarked that

[58] In the Middle and Southern states the ruffed grouse (*Bonasa umbella*) is called a pheasant. The English pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) does not exist in the United States. Similarly, the American partridge is entirely different from the English, being the bobwhite or quail (*Ortyx virginiana*).— Ed.

[59] George Louis Buffon (1707-1788) was a noted French naturalist, and for many years was intendant to the royal gardens. Abbé Raynal (1713-1793) published (1770) *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes.*— Ed.

the animals of this continent are larger than those of Europe, but the fox, pheasant, partridge and woodcock are all certainly much smaller.— The Jersey horses are excellent hacknies, for a pair of them drew us in a lumbering vehicle eight miles with ease in about an hour along a heavy sandy road.

We have been told there are no taxes in America, or that they are few and light; I insert therefore a copy of a tax paper handed to me by a gentleman of Philadelphia.

Rates.	City. 50 Cents. ℔ 100 $	Co. 25 Cents. ℔ 100 $	Poor. 30 Cents. ℔ 100 $	Water.	Total.	
$ Cts.	$ Cts.	$ Cts.	$ Cts.	....	$ Cts.	
88 : 00	44 : 00	22 : 00	26 : 40		92 : 40	

[165] Besides these there are still levied a poll-tax of one dollar; a dog-tax of one dollar, and I believe some others. During the last war, a tax was laid upon top-boots, watch-chains, part of household furniture, and various other articles.— Horses and carriages are also virtually taxed, for the assessor calling to put his queries in order to make out the assessment asks, among other questions, "Does Mr. ***** keep a horse or mare, a gig or other carriage?" and upon being answered in the affirmative he increases the poll-tax in proportion: this district or parish officer has, or I am misinformed, in great measure discretionary powers, and as he is elected by *all* the inhabitants of the district, whether they do possess property or not, the consequence may be easily foreseen.— Thus are the Americans pretty well taxed according to their means of paying: in the country indeed taxes are very little if at all paid, for the reason that the government either cannot or dare not levy them; hardly indeed, in some places dare

the owners claim the land itself from the *Squatters*. An instance of this lately occurred in a distant part of Pensilvania: a proprietor having heard of several settlers upon his land without purchase or permission, mounted his horse and journeying to his allotment soon came up to a good log house; a Squatter was at his door, [166] and the owner, by way of entering into conversation with him, observed that he had erected a comfortable dwelling there; to which the other assented.— "But, my friend, I am told that you and several more have built here without any title to the land, and the owner is coming to remove you." The man, who had his rifle in his hand, immediately pointing to a pig at a distance took aim and shot it dead; then turning to the alarmed proprietor told him, that if the owner should ever come to disturb him he would serve him as he had served that pig.

Sunday 12th. In the morning attended the episcopal church, a building handsomely decorated withinside: near the pulpit, which was placed within the altar, sat a Bishop in his lawn sleeves, &c. supported in a chair of state of carved wood, the mitre surmounting the back; — he took no part in the service, but I understood he would officiate in the ceremony of admission to a young minister. In the middle of the service, otherwise conducted with decency, a man with a money box came into every pew to levy contributions for the support of the church. In the evening went to the Presbyterian church, where we heard much singing. Here a purse at the end of a long stick was thrust into every pew for contributions: this mode of raising funds for whatever purpose is an abomination.

[167] Marriage is here a civil contract, though some parties have the ceremony read by a minister; in general they may and do go before the Mayor, a Justice, or as

they are called here a 'Squire, and declaring their resolution to take each other for man and wife, the contract is binding. As to registers I understand they are very inaccurately kept, if at all in many places, of either marriages, christenings, or burials, which must occasion most profitable confusion for the lawyers.

Went with ***** to one of the many billiard tables in this city; the game usually played is the four balls, two red and two white. This seemed to me a very childish play and well suiting the table-keeper, as from the facility of *cannoning* the game is soon finished. Returning home my companion proposed to dive into one of the Oyster Cellars, to which agreeing we vanished in a trice, and entering the infernal abode, the heat of which was at least that of a hot-house, we found a room well lighted and boxes arranged like our coffee-houses, except that the partitions were carried to the ceiling and the addition of curtains in front.— We supped well upon stewed oysters brought upon a chaffing dish, and a sallad of finely shredded raw cabbage and celery, which I found very palatable; for these with beer we paid half a dollar, and again rose to encounter the keen air of a [168] frosty night. It is I apprehend these constant sudden changes of temperature, and not severity of climate, which destroy the constitutions of many here, and render the use of flannel next the skin indispensable.

No one will again say that this country is free from paupers when he learns that there are subscriptions for the support of public soup establishments, which find plenty of employment throughout the winter. 'Tis true the poor here seem to be more fastidious than with us, for a pauper in my hearing the other day objected to some good cold meat offered to her, because it was too cold for

her stomach, and said she would prefer some money if the giver pleased.

Sunday 26th. Went with ***** to a Roman Catholic church: the altar very handsome, but the architecture and decorations more calculated for a temple dedicated to Venus, than for the sanctity of a christian church. Between the pillars of corinthian order which supported the altar was a view of the Holy City and the Temple, well painted in distemper, and before this full as large as life the Crucifixion, the first view of which sight of horror, must make a sickening impression; but its constant presence deadens the feelings, and renders devotion grounded upon it a mere ceremony, as the "nods and becks and wreathed [169] smiles" between acquaintances coming in during the prayers plainly proved. The priest on his entrance, being finely enrobed in a scarlet velvet and worked muslin petticoat, commenced his operations by a very hearty and plentiful use of his pocket handkerchief, which "I thought to myself" might as well have been done before his entrée; he then with a voice like a bull-frog began prayers, but after some progress turned short round from the altar to the congregation and in very familiar language said he was too hoarse to preach, but would, as I understood, give them more prayers instead. He again during prayers took sudden occasion to remind them of some particular day in the ensuing week, and then finished the orisons; — the priest's voice was very pleasingly relieved by the singing from the organ-loft, it was fine and impressive. The ceremony of the purse was here too gone through and then we departed, the organ playing very well but not very àpropos "*Adeste fideles.*"

An affair occurred last week at New York which caused a considerable sensation, — a young man in a fit of angry

malice stabbed another in the open street with a concealed cane dirk. He fled, but was pursued and taken: when brought before the magistrates twenty thousand dollars were offered as bail for his appearance, which [170] has not been in this case accepted; though I am told it is not at all uncommon here to take bail in cases of murder, or rather manslaughter to speak technically. No wonder then that duels of that assassin character are of so frequent occurrence. It is common to practise beforehand on giving or receiving a challenge, and I believe rifle-barrelled pistols have been used; if after this a man is admitted to bail, let the assassin go free.

31st. After a long continuance of fine mild weather, in the mid-day sometimes even hot, winter comes clothed in his thickest fleecy covering, ushered in by as fine and gentle a rain as ever fell in autumn; the snow is already a foot deep, and sleds, or as they are called here sleighs, are moving in all directions. These carriages are not only applied to the useful purposes of life at this season, but they also afford an amusement much indulged in by all who can afford it; — there are sleighs of various sizes drawn by from one to four horses, and some of these carriages are of a form elegant enough, and handsomely covered within by the rich furry skins of the Bear and Buffalo; the horses wear belts of bells round their necks and bodies, and also some at their ears; this, which is a legal regulation intended to give notice of their approach, and thus to prevent accidents, [171] is rendered an affair of ornament to delight the eye and the ear, the bells being nicely assorted to harmonize, and affixed to handsome leather belts. The fun and frolic consists in large parties forming a cavalcade of these sleighs to some place of public resort at a distance, where when arrived, the dance is

struck up, hot wines are drunk as a refreshment, and in the night, after a good supper, wrapped in furs and huddled together, they drive helter skelter home not "alone by the light of the moon."

Americans make amends for the want of originality of invention by a quick perception and adoption of whatever is useful in other nations; without owning that they do so, they servilely copy us in every thing; for examples among so many, Savings Banks are adopted to great extent. Lotteries are of as frequent occurrence as with us; schemes are for ever publishing, and without any other difference than the substitution of dollars for pounds; head prize, 20,000 dollars, second 10,000, and so on down to 10 and 5. The state of pauperism has even obliged them to adopt the before-mentioned soup institutions, which are now in daily action at each quarter of the city, besides other places where bread, and at some, clothing, is given away to proper objects of the charity; many of whom they say are Emigrants [172] out of employ.[60] The newspapers indeed are full of advertisements for employ, and societies are established by Englishmen to relieve and forward poor emigrants to where their services may be wanted; but I am informed by a subscriber that the applications to them for working hands are just now but few: work would be plentiful, but money is wanting, meanwhile Penitentiaries and prisons and poor-houses are full! This does not form an inviting picture to the emigrant.

Writers on the United States have too much said the *thing which is not*, and too little the thing which is; consequently I entered the country with impressions which

[60] I believe the Quakers are entitled to the chief merit of promoting these charitable institutions, and I have before been silent where I should have given them the meed of praise.—WELBY.

have almost all been totally changed by actual observation. We have been told that suits at law are here quickly heard and as quickly determined: walking the other day in Philadelphia with a gentleman, he pointed to some buildings we were passing, and surprised me by observing that he had for *many years* been disputing at law the possession of them. My landlady too is engaged in a lawsuit of many years standing, and of which she knows not the probable termination. Whether these evils are some for which they may thank our administration is [173] not here worth enquiring, as a wise nation should have remedied them when it formed for itself a Constitution; but in this and many other instances they still suffer under many of the evils of which we complain.

In a statement of grievances drawn up by a Grand Jury at a late county Assize in Pensilvania, it is complained that improper persons are put into the commission of the peace, and of the improper conduct of such in their magistracy: it also contains a strong remonstrance against the practice in prisons of putting the tried and untried culprits together: the bringing before the Grand Jury causes of a petty nature, and which therefore should have been tried in inferior courts, is also objected to.

The militia laws here bear hard upon the Foreigner, towards whom they are a vexatious tax. A residence in the country of, I believe, only six months renders him liable to be called out, and enrolled, or to pay a fine for absence; yet were a war to take place with the government to which an enrolled stranger is subject, he is sent up the country, instead of accepting of his military services; as it happened to the English who were resident here during the last war, to the great detriment of their affairs. The foreigner of course generally submits to pay the fine

rather than be [174] subject to the demand of a military duty so unjust towards him; but that the practice of procuring substitutes, should be gaining ground among the citizens themselves, proves pretty clearly a falling off from the republican spirit. I have somewhere met with the remark that the Athenians were so wholly devoted to public life that they neglected the private virtues: the moderns on the contrary, and the remark may be applicable equally elsewhere as here, may be said to neglect their public interests in a constant attention to their private affairs; when this is the case, parties may hold intemperate language, journalists may snarl at each other, but all will not preserve the liberties of a people who have ceased to be true to themselves, when, from whatever cause, they shall hold back from their public duties, more especially those which are military; they then soon sink into effeminacy, lose that manliness of character which such exercises would give them, and becoming indifferent to all else but sordid gain, let their liberties sooner or later become the sacrifice to despotism. A militia may not go through its evolutions so quick and exact as a standing army — the latter is also a fine spectacle on a field-day, when the sun shines — it is likewise, it must be confessed, very enticing to indolence to be able to sit at home and nurse "its dainty [175] sympathies" while the army is abroad fighting its battles; but the Republic that would long preserve its freedom, that would truly enjoy the shade of its own vine and fig-tree, must keep the sword belted to its own side; must know how to use it, and submit with chearfulness and energy to its military duties. A standing army and disarmed population is the awful lever wherewith despotism and crooked policy have everywhere overturned the temple of liberty.

But whither is fancy leading me to wander? forgetful that I am where true liberty is unknown, or where the Goddess has only deigned to shed the rays of her intelligence on the favoured head of a Washington, a Franklin and a few others; while a spirit totally irreconcileable with the noble, disinterested, high minded, true republican pervades each bosom — money — gain — sordid gain is the predominant, almost the sole passion; scarcely leaving room for vanity; which shews itself not only in a firm belief and modest assertion that they alone among the nations of the earth hold the palm in Arts, Arms, and Science, but also in the important object of decorating the person. Reader — know, that the tailor, hatter, bootmaker, here give to our modern Republican his rank; and by the cut of his habiliments is known the circle in which he moves, and in which he [176] must continue to move. As unbending an order of aristocracy exists here as in any old court of Europe; and if an unfortunate individual is known ever to have appeared in an inferior circle, the ostracism banishes him for ever from the double refined society of this upper order of store keepers.

January 31st, 1820. Went last evening to attend service at the African Church: a charity sermon was preached and the whole very decently conducted. Contemplating however the sable countenances around us, the observation that the black forms a grade just below the white again occurred; 'tis true the former seems capable of all the common mental exertions, so nearly equal with the white man that it must be confessed he treads close upon his heels, yet notwithstanding, perhaps the result of a close examination and comparison of their mental faculties might shew as much difference between them as may be observed in the features of the countenance. On which-

ever side the truth of the question may lie, the general opinion in those States which have formally and publicly called the men of colour "Men and Brothers" is pretty clearly shewn in various ways — separate churches — civil disabilities, besides such common advertisements in the daily papers as the following; which I copy from the Aurora[61] of Friday, 25th March, 1820: —

[177] BAKER'S

EXCHANGE AND INTELLIGENCE-OFFICE

For SALE: — A black girl 20 years old, and 8 to serve.
Ditto 17 and 11 ditto.
Ditto 13 and 15 ditto, from the country.
Ditto 18 and 10 ditto.
Ditto 13 and 15 ditto.
A black boy 16 and 15 ditto, &c. &c.
To BIND: — White boys 11, 12, 13, &c. years of age.
White girls 8, 11, 12, &c.

Thus in free Pensilvania are blacks positively sold for a limited period, and though the law does not allow the purchaser the power of life and death over this sort of slave, yet to all other intents and purposes he is in as complete subjection as any slave in Virginia or Kentucky.

We have lately attended service at the churches of the Anabaptists, the Swedenborgians, &c.— Contemplating the various sects of religion in the United States, men will be pleased or otherwise, according to their private sentiments, to see the people on a Sunday quietly moving to the places of worship belonging to their several persuasions, without the least symptom of disrespect or rancorous spirit

[61] The Philadelphia *Aurora* was established in 1790 by Benjamin Franklin Bache. After his death (1798) it was edited by William Duane. It was strongly anti-federal, and exerted its greatest influence between the years 1800-1820.— Ed.

towards each other; thus forming an exception to the rest of the globe.— Whether such a state of religion will long continue, or whether, professing the same end (happiness hereafter,) [178] they may at length unite in the same means, one form of religion, time only will demonstrate: there are indeed people who seem to be of opinion that it will end in no religion at all; and I must confess thus much, that though theoretically it is certainly pleasing to contemplate religion free from state trammels, and each man walking before his God as his unbiassed conscience shall dictate, yet, as religion ought to influence men's conduct in the world, and "a tree is known by its fruit," it would be satisfactory to perceive, as the result of such religious liberty, more probity in the every day dealings between man and man than I have witnessed in the United States. While they talk of the moral and religious principle; of true liberty, honesty, &c. their actions belie their words, and make them appear a nation of unprincipled atheists; by the bye, a description of people perhaps more general over the world than we might be inclined to allow; people, who outwardly profess belief in a Creator and future Judge of our actions, yet whose daily acts contradict their professions. But to return to America, where integrity is at so low an ebb at present, that the nearest relative or friend can scarcely be safely trusted. One instance of baseness and ingratitude, among the many, I will relate. A man some time ago became insolvent — *retired* for the [179] usual period of five or six weeks, during which time he obtained signatures of release from his creditors, and came out whitewashed: one would naturally suppose that at least towards these men he would feel a debt of gratitude as well as of money due, and he had soon an opportunity of shewing it; for one of them, to whom he had been

most indebted, in his turn got into difficulties,— and what followed — the scoundrel seized the occasion by the help of chicanery to turn his former creditor into the street and sold up his goods! Can either a religious or moral principle prevail where such things are *commonly* perpetrated? — Can the laws be good? — Can the government be efficient? Can a country last where such things pass as clever strokes of practice, and the most successful swindler is praised as the *smartest* fellow?

"Such things are;" and while they are, they furnish ground for such philippics as the following; which I will insert, not because any calm unprejudiced person or one *not writing for preferment* can agree with the pen of gall, but in the hope that America aroused at such anathemas, may exert her better self, give vigour to her laws, and blot out these foul deeds from the page of her history. Speaking of the principle of honour, the writer expresses himself thus: —"Honour alone [180] will indeed never make a great nation, but it will always preserve it from dwindling down into thorough contempt. It has done much more for France than ever virtue did. Without this semi-heroic principle she would have been detestable indeed. I say not that she was ever anything very desirable to boast of with it. America in this respect stands insulated from all the world. She has neither a spark of true magnanimity about her, nor any grace or colouring of it. She is equally destitute of honesty and honour, of substance and semblance. She set off without an established religion, and has now pretty well prepared herself for needing none."

In another place he writes thus, "there is no saying what this same America may turn out in the lapse of ages, or how far that unprincipled Oligarchy may extend her growing plagues into futurity, which, at present, exhibits the young

serpents crawling out of their beds of venom in every direction where the heavens may smile, or the air freshly blow upon them, &c."[62]

Such sentiments as these, from a man professing himself a minister of "the meek and lowly Jesus," are little calculated to fascinate and render [181] any people the more inclined to a church establishment.

February 3d. What transitions of temperature! — the frost yesterday was severe; the Schuylkill and even the Delaware frozen over, and skating the order of the day; the thermometer at ten degrees below freezing: — last night a heavy mild rain has fallen, and at mid-day now the thermometer is at 40°.

HORRIBLE EXECUTION!

I shall copy the account without comment; it needs none. Perpetrated among a people who call themselves christians, and who boast of being "the most free, the most enlightened, the most humane people on earth."

"Augusta, (Georgia,) Feb. 1, A. D. 1820.

"On Friday last, two negro men, named Ephraim and Sam, were executed in conformity to their sentence, for the murder of their master, Mr. Thomas Handcock, of Edgefield district, S. C.— Sam was burnt and Ephraim hung, and his head severed from his body, and publicly exposed. The circumstances attending the crime for which these miserable beings have suffered, were of a nature so aggravated, as imperiously demanded the terrible punishment which has been inflicted upon them. [They had shot their owner while he slept.]

[182] "The burning of malefactors is a punishment only resorted to when absolute necessity demands a signal example. It must be a

[62] Reflections upon the Nature and tendency of the present Spirit of the Times. By Rev. George Burges, B.A. 1820.— WELBY.

horrid and appaling sight to see a human being consigned to the flames — let even fancy picture the scene — the pile — the stake — the victim, and the mind sickens and sinks under the oppression of its own feelings,— what then must be the dreadful reality! From some of the spectators we learn, that it was a scene which transfixed in breathless horror almost every one who witnessed it. As the flames approached him, the piercing shriek of the unfortunate victim struck upon the heart with a fearful, painful vibration,— but when the devouring element seized upon his body all was hushed: yet the cry of agony still thrilled in the ear, and an involuntary and sympathetic shudder ran through the crowd."

In consequence of the above, the following letter was addressed to the editor of the newspaper.

"To Z. Poulson,

"A Philadelphian in thy paper says, the burning of malefactors is a punishment never before resorted to in this country,— I wish the fact were so, but in the year 1800, the following was published, viz.

" 'Charlston, December 4, 1800.

" 'Yesterday was brought to trial, before Justices Johnson and Glover, Ben and Smart, two negro slaves, the property of Mr. Gregmiles, for the murder of Wm. Maxwell, ship carpenter.— The Magistrates and Freeholders were unanimous in bringing them in guilty: and further, from the circumstances of aggravation, that the punishment should be severe. They were accordingly sentenced — Ben to be carried between the hours of ten [183] and twelve this day, outside the tobacco inspection, and there to suffer death by being burned alive; the other, Smart, to be carried to the place where the murder was committed, between the hours of ten and four, and there to suffer the like punishment on Friday the 5th instant.' "[63]

That such scenes have at some period disgraced the annals of most nations it must be acknowledged; for which even a faint shadow of excuse may be found in the madness of fanaticism: that they are now sanctioned by cold

[63] The execution of the above sentence took place accordingly.— WELBY.

blooded sentences from a misnamed bench of justice, proves this new continent to be some centuries behind in civilization; a fact corroborated by several others, amongst the most glaring of which are the perpetuation of the institution of slavery, and the frequency and mode of conducting duel combat.

The first of these condemning facts has just been decided, after much and violent debate in both houses of Congress; and only by the small majority of four, a majority which in England would not carry a question, the New State of Missourie is admitted into union with the *free republic* without any restriction as to slaves! In the course of the discussion, the State of Virginia has gone so far as to throw out hints hostile, should the question be decided otherwise than it has: and in this it is understood she would have [184] been supported by the other Slave States all deeply interested in the event; as, had the abolition party prevailed, the next measure would have been an attempt at general emancipation, which, if carried, would have been a death blow to the paramount influence which Virginia now possesses in the general government, owing to her extent of territory and population, and to the law which gives to each slave-holder, besides his own vote, one for every five negroes he has. These causes have hitherto enabled Virginia successively to influence the choice of a President of the United States. Another reason given by the politicians here why the last mentioned State with Kentucky, and some others, may be careless of maintaining the union is, that a debt of some magnitude is due from them to the general Government for lands unpaid for, taxes, &c., and which, being unable or rather unwilling to pay, they would cancel by a war. The political and civil interests of the Slave States also frequently

clash with, or are in direct opposition to those which are called Free.

Another division of this immense country contemplated as probable, is into eastern and western Governments, the Alleghany chain of mountains to form the mutual grand barrier; and indeed I found the subject pretty generally discussed in [185] the western country, the inhabitants of which seemed well disposed to the measure.

On the subject of Duel combat mentioned above I would add a few words, partly of general application, to the sentiments of so many already delivered. Though the angry passions of some, and the foolish conduct of others will perhaps continue to give cause for and never entirely banish the necessity of appeal to arms; yet will all sensible men concur in the opinion that it ought to be the last resort of injured honour, the ultimate remedy to repel insult. As real christians, we should refuse it altogether; but taking the world as it is (and that is very far indeed from true christianity), the combat ought to be regarded as a serious appeal to heaven, alone justifiable when human laws have failed to do us right — when, however we may as a christian forgive the offender, we yet cannot keep our honour and overlook the offence: — in such situations, and fortunately such are very rare, a man has no alternative — he must trust his cause to mortal arbitrement: but to rush to the combat for any cause short of this is not true courage, for this is alone consistent with right conduct; — it is irreligious, for religion forbids it — it is immoral, for it tends to banish virtue and disorganize society; — it is barbarous, for it belongs to the wild beast of the forest; and the [186] people who have recourse to the combat on frivolous occasions cannot therefore be placed lower upon the scale of humanity. If then these

sentiments be correct, what are we to think of those who can invite each other to the field upon a dispute about their tailor's bill, or the best mode of peeling a sausage, with other equally important occasions of meeting among these mockeries of humanity. From the contemplation of such, let us turn to behold the more serious mockery of all that is right, in the chief Magistrate of a nation, and a considerable part of a nation's council, publicly parading the funeral of a favourite naval officer, who fell — not nobly fighting his country's battles, but pointing at a murderous distance, with vindictive malice, the weapon at the breast of his brother officer; on account of an affair too, with which he had no concern, and for which even his own friends condemned his interference! He fell; and his antagonist, who appears to have attempted all which an honourable man could do to avoid the meeting, remains.[64]

After what has been said, it will not surprise the reader that a store-keeper should put out a board to advertise the passenger that he has "ten cases of Duelling Pistols on sale;" though it might to a reflecting mind be little less hurtful to society than if he had offered ten cases of [187] picklock keys, or some neat sets of combustibles for firing houses or blowing up the inhabitants.

Went to visit the Dock-yard and to view a 74 upon the stocks; within the hull of which it is said one of our 100 gun ships might be placed; and in effect she is framed to carry as many guns at least, and those of a large size. The plan of having all the guns of the same size appears to be good in more respects than one; it prevents mistakes in loading during action, as the same quantity of powder will be required for each gun: — 32 pounders are cast here I understood for the service generally. The Americans

[64] This was Admiral Decatur. See Faux's *Journal, ante,* note 140.— Ed.

seem alive to naval enterprise, and no doubt can be entertained of their becoming very powerful, if they avoid internal divisions and cordially join in effecting it. It will not be denied that they have on several occasions at sea behaved gallantly; but the mere trick of rating ships of war below their real force, by which they have gained some few advantages, will no longer succeed, and was unworthy of the adoption of a brave nation.

[188] LECTURES ON ANATOMY

The mansion which the Government caused to be erected and presented to George Washington for his residence, and which he, always like himself, only accepted to give it up for the public benefit, is now devoted to the medical and anatomical sciences, and is named the University of Pensilvania.[65] By favour of Dr. Physic I was presented with a general ticket of admission to the anatomical course. On entering the Lecture room, which is spacious, it was pleasing to see in attendance about three hundred students; it was not so pleasing however, to hear the impatient noise kept up by their heels and sticks in the manner of our play-house galleries, because the Dr. did not make his appearance quite so soon as expected. This is both highly indecorous and shewing a want of proper respect for a man of years and science. Dr. P. ranks high in reputation, and I believe deservedly: his salary for the college duties, which occupy his time for four months of each year, is about six thousand dollars. There are several other courses of lectures delivered here, all of which are numerously attended: at the concluding lecture of a

[65] The University of Pennsylvania dates its history from the establishment of Franklin's academy in 1740. See Montgomery, *History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Foundation to A.D. 1770* (Philadelphia, 1902).— Ed.

course on medicine given by Dr. Coxe, the very indecorous conduct of the students in [189] hawking, spitting, and coughing, while some few lay across the benches asleep, led me fully to expect a severe reprimand, as they richly deserved, at the end of the lecture; I was then much astonished to hear a short, diffident address from the Dr. concluding with thanking them for their attention! This they applauded with as much sense and propriety as they had before coughed, hawked, and spat; by the way, these beastly habits I am told carry off numbers of young men in early consumptions.

The Dr. took occasion in speaking on the subject of fermented liquors, to reprobate, and it may be too justly, the wine merchants and brewers of England for the custom of mixing deleterious ingredients in their liquors.

The practice of medicine in Philadelphia, New York, and other large towns appears to be on a very respectable footing. Fees are high; on which account perhaps it is that the operations of bleeding with the lancet, cupping, &c. are still performed by barbers, and by other ignorant people as formerly in England; in almost every street is a sign put out[66] denoting that these [190] operations are performed within; it may be supposed therefore that disorders of repletion are very general. Dentists are well paid: at New York I had occasion for their services, and a little Frenchman, who, though now in fashion as a dentist, had, I afterwards heard, previously figured in the world as marker at a billiard-table and in several other characters, was recommended to me, and I sought his house: after extracting the tooth, which he performed

[66] Not long ago signs were very generally used by other trades than those of Publicans, and even now there are a few who hang them out,— Tavern signs are many of them executed in a superior manner; it is the chief encouragement given to the Arts.— WELBY.

very well, he told me among other rhodomontade that he only now practised "pour son amusement." I therefore doubtingly requested to know if he took a fee upon such pleasant occasions, and putting a note into his hand, he retained *only* two dollars of it which he pocketed also "pour son amusement." A lady paid to ****** twenty-five dollars for plugging three teeth, and another was charged thirty-six dollars for having her teeth cleaned. A midwife's common fee is twenty-five dollars and frequently much more is given.

Empirics too here find a field whereon to gather in a harvest: imitations of the bottles and labels of the most successful of our quack medicines are made and openly advertised for sale to the imitators. Holcroft[67] it is, I think, who, in his account of Paris mentions that boards are to be seen fixed over doors with the inscription "ici on [191] fait les avortemens." At Philadelphia one of the same infamous race placards in large letters the corners of the principal streets with "Obstructions removed at No. — in ——— street."

February 22d. Anniversary of the birth of George Washington. I suppose it was that the people might be awakened early to pleasing thoughts on this day, that a double drum accompanied by fifes went thumping through the city at four o'clock in the morning. Soon after daylight all was bustle and preparation. At ten A. M. we repaired to Washington Hall, where an oration was to be delivered, in honour of the departed hero and friend of his country, by a young student in the law, one of which profession is annually chosen for the task; this being an opportunity of becoming known, and a trial of ability,

[67] Thomas Holcroft (1744-1809) a well-known British dramatist and translator.— ED.

may be of much advantage to a young man. A handsome spacious room surrounded with galleries was appropriated for the ceremony; the ladies above, the male auditors below. At the upper end was a raised platform for the Orator, the city magistrates, a few military officers, &c.

During the arrival of the company, a band of about half a dozen wind instruments stationed in the gallery above the platform, played some airs, chiefly English, and pertinaciously continued their exertions while the city militia with [192] drums, and fifes blowing a different tune entered the room, and marching up, squatted down upon benches and ordered their arms between their legs. The din was horrid, and the idea of seating the military novel.

The Orator now entered and, accompanied by the public characters, ascended the platform; seats being taken, the six wind instruments in the gallery struck up the national air of "Yankee doodle," which immediately set all the ladies nodding, jumping, and beating time, while some heavy heels below tried to accord with them.— This air is surely of all national airs the most unfortunate; to those of other nations we may listen with delight; — the Swiss Ranz des Vaches — the Dutch "Orange Boven"— the Marseillois' hymn of the French and our own coronation anthem, and Rule Britannia, have all their several characteristics of grand, plaintive, or inspiring; but Yankee doodle! What concatenation can render it agreeable? What mental images can it conjure up worthy to rejoice the hearts of a great nation![68]

Yankee doodle over, the Orator, a fine young man but of very inadequate strength of voice, [193] advanced and

[68] Their other national air "Hail Columbia," is intitled to more respect.— WELBY.

commenced his address, in which I was surprised to hear but little of the great character we were met to recal to respectful memory. It was a rapid panoramic sketch of the political situation of the several principal powers of Europe, with all of whom he found fault; then weaving in an uncalled-for condemnation of Napoleon (a great character, let history hereafter say what it may of his errors,) he concluded with an unqualified approbation of the men and measures at home; not excepting the late decision of Congress on the Missouri question, which perpetuates slavery in the United States: in short, he boldly affirmed that *their* nation was alone the favoured one under heaven where true liberty was understood and enjoyed, &c.

At the philippic against Napoleon, General H. L'A****d who sat near me, though he does not converse in English, shewed well that he understood it, by the indignant colour which rose to his face: the General was one of Buonaparte's most attached officers, and being consequently proscribed by the present French government, sought an asylum with Marshal Grouché and many more on the shores of America. Here he now resides truly a practical philosopher after the pomp and bustle of war is over; after having borne a part in many campaigns; among [194] others that of Moscow, and enduring the horrors of the retreat, eating horse-flesh as a luxury, and subsisting for some time on sugar; and lastly having been engaged at the final battle of Waterloo. He now lives a quiet domestic man with his lady and infant, and employs himself in writing upon subjects connected with his profession; upon which, as well as upon general topics, he speaks with great ability and feeling, as one who has thought much and deeply. It is with pleasure that I seize this opportunity of inserting a few words of remembrance of this worthy

man: it is time that party proscriptions should cease in France, and I heartily wish he may be reinstated in rank and fortune.

The address was of course received at its conclusion with thundering applause; the drums, fifes, and wind instruments again joined in a Dutch concert, and the audience dispersed. As we returned home I observed that all the stores were kept open; no great proof of respect on such a day.

To instance further symptoms of slavery, and perhaps a little injustice, in this free State of Pensilvania, where all men are declared equal by the constitution, the people of colour are neither called upon to pay the poll-tax as men, nor are they allowed a vote for representatives or otherwise; [195] yet all taxes, the payment of which give no such privileges, are exacted of them.

As this subject may not be again alluded to here, I insert the following curious advertisement: it may give some insight respecting the public mind upon more subjects than one.

"MISSOURI

"To Southern and Western Planters

"For SALE; one hundred prime Virginia-born Slaves, the property of a Planter who is contracting the scale of his business, and does not chuse that *all* the produce of his land and labour should go into the pockets of manufacturers or fundholders. These Slaves will be sold all together or in families, to suit purchasers. Conditions, *Cash*, and *Removal not* South of the State of Georgia. The condition of their removal is for their own accommodation.

"N. B. No proposals from any Slave Trader will be attended to.

"The Proprietor of this property would prefer selling them all together, and would give a credit to any *Planter*, on receiving satisfactory [i.e. landed] security. No bank notes, bank stock, six per Cent. three per Cent, or other evidence of debt, public or private,

domestic or foreign, will be received in payment; but *coin* or *bullion* will be taken at their lawful value or market price respectively.

"——British or Portuguese gold or Spanish milled dollars would be preferred.

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[196] "If the above-mentioned Slaves are not disposed of at private sale before the first Monday of November next, they will be sold at public auction on that day, at Lynchburg in Virginia.[69]

"These Slaves were bred on the estate where they are now working, and are perfectly acquainted with the cultivation and curing of the best Virginia Tobacco.

"Their ancestors were purchased by the ancestor of the present proprietor out of Guineamen, and they have been in the same family for several generations.

"The best character can be given of them: among them are the best Blacksmiths perhaps in Virginia and several other Tradesmen, Carpenters, &c."

28th. Visited the Playhouse — the piece represented was "The Battle of Hexham;" very humbly got up but the parts respectably filled. It was a full house, being a benefit night; we sat next to the stage-box in the second row: the party who had obtained the front seats were a lady and three gentlemen, two of whom kept on their horsemen's great coats and one his hat the whole night; this custom is common here. As to the state of the stage, it is not a subject worth entering upon; there is in fact no American stage, the players being almost wholly English.

March 3d. The meat market here is plentifully supplied with excellent well-fed beef, good veal and mutton, though the Americans little [197] esteem the latter. The poultry too is well-fed and fine. In order to shew to what point of perfection feeding and grazing have reached, I present the

[69] I am informed that it is not an uncommon practice to sell the negroes a auction, by the lb. weight.— WELBY.

reader with some account of the annual Cattle shew, prefacing it with the advertisement extracted from the Aurora Journal of March 3d, 1820.

"SPLENDID AND EXTRAORDINARY EXHIBITION!

"The public are respectfully informed that twenty-three head of Fat Cattle, eleven Fat Sheep, and two Fat Goats, advertised to be exhibited at the Merchants' Coffee-House, by Messrs. White, Shuster, Fryburg, Drum and Miller, may be seen at B. Graves's Drove-Yard and Cattle-Market; where the public generally are respectfully invited to view this magnificent and splendid shew of fine cattle of American production: such we believe as has never been exhibited for sale, in one day, in any city in the world, at all events never surpassed!!!"

These animals, such as were "*never before exhibited in any city in the world,*" I saw; and can vouch at least for their being very fat; — the cattle were of middling size, and frame pretty good, yet judging from their appearance, I should not have guessed that they possessed (to use a grazier's phrase,) "an aptitude for laying on fat." Any particular information of the length of time they had been feeding, or of the quantity and kinds of food, was not obtained; but I suspect that though their heads were large they had pretty [198] well *eaten them off*, (as prize cattle are sometimes known to do in other parts of the world,) and that the grand principle of grazing, laying on flesh with the least expense of food, has not here been sufficiently attended to.

When slaughtered, another exhibition was made of the carcases, and they all proved well, not excepting those of the goats which were very fat;[70]— the tallow in some of

[70] The skins of the goats by some speedy process had been converted into morocco leather and were exhibited.— WELBY.

the beasts weighed considerably more than two hundred lb. and the carcases from eighty to one hundred and thirty stone of fourteen lb. The whole sold for a quarter dollar (13½d.) per lb.; but previous to the sale, it was paraded about the city in one-horse carts, attended by butchers in neat handsome white frocks with insignia, and a military band of music *in a cart*,— a large model of a ship upon wheels, having a lad dressed as a sailor in it throwing the line, bringing up the rear. I have before had occasion to remark a want of spirit, a flatness — I know not what to call it, among the Americans upon public parades and holidays, when other nations are all life and noise: not a hat was thrown up upon this occasion among the crowd, not one hurrah, not even a smile was to be seen; but all passed by with the quiet and order of [199] business: they all seemed to be calculating how much the meat would sell for, or taking in large draughts of conceit upon having the honour to attend the best beef *in the whole world*!

Of the state of Agriculture, the little I saw is not worth a comment to the English farmer. The price of all machinery is so high that it precludes the general use of complex implements of husbandry, and the unexhausted fertility of much of the soil, perhaps, renders the use of them less obvious. Clovers are grown in this State in course of cropping, and we may suppose by the following advertisement that they begin to know the value of manure.

"TO BE SOLD,

"This day a quantity of Street Dirt, in Lots to suit Purchasers."

Of the present low price of land an instance may be given in the late purchase of two hundred acres, six miles from Philadelphia, part good grazing ground, and the

rest of good quality, including a good and newly-erected brick house upon it; for the whole of which the price was five thousand dollars (about £5. 7s. 6d. sterling per acre.) I believe that bargains as good, or nearly so, may now be made.

9th. For two days past it has rained and froze as it fell; the trees, the ships, buildings, [200] &c. are all incrusted with icicles: the strongest branches of the trees are every minute giving way and falling under their loads. A ship at one of the wharfs, being neglected came down, broke her masts against the wharf and the hull was sunk. In the country the scene is brilliant and beautiful beyond description: a letter from the neighbourhood says, "the spruce, the pine, and the cedar, are coated with transparency, their limbs bending in every fantastic shape, whilst the rich dark green of their leaves shows to double advantage through the brilliant covering; the twigs of the yellow willow may be compared to amber set in crystal; the red maple, and the large berries of the sweet-briar, seem covered with pendant diamonds; the trees at a distance appear to be loaden with blossoms, white, glittering, and brilliant; but no description can convey an adequate idea of the 'fairy frost-work.' "

April 2d. As memoranda relative to the climate must be particularly interesting to those who may think of emigrating, I notice, that this day a heavy snow is falling, wind N. N. E.,— the Thermometer at eight o'clock A. M., exposed in shade, 37° of Fahrenheit; yesterday it was above temperate, but the two days before at the above hour of the morning, as low as 31° and 32°: the apricots and other trees which have already put [201] forth blossoms, must have been injured and many of the trees will probably be killed. In consequence of these sudden

extremes of temperature, garden cultivation is difficult and uncertain, and the market produce much higher than in England; a dollar is frequently given for a cauliflower, and a quarter dollar (13½d.) is considered a low price; for a common cabbage I was asked nine cents (about 5d.,) and most other vegetables bear a proportionate price.

Called yesterday upon Mr. H*****: the conversation turned upon the right of primogeniture, a right which (scarcely deserving to be so called) is not recognised here. It is true that a man is permitted to exercise it in his testamentary dispositions, but it is scarcely ever acted upon. I observed, that though the descent of estates to the eldest son was strictly agreeable to the spirit of our government, yet many with us wished its abolition were practicable, and were of opinion that this would be a great point gained to the cause of rational liberty; regarding it as strictly an act of justice, that a father should divide his property evenly among children who all claimed an equal share in his affection. In answer, he acknowledged, that his mind too was so strongly impressed with the equal claim of children to a parent's support, that he believed he might in his [202] own case act upon it: yet, he added, that should he do so it would be entirely unaccordant with his actual observation of its effects; for, out of very many instances which had come under his observation, he had hardly known any which had succeeded; the children had received their equal portions, but not the experience necessary to proper management and economy, and consequently nine times in ten they bought experience with every dollar, and in the end became either idle, dissipated, good-for-nothing characters, or had at least to begin the world again with nothing.— I asked how the children, in

the instances which he called to mind, had been brought up, and if they had been placed out properly at first; for if so, it seems to be a manifest advantage that a young man should possess a sum of money for immediate support and with which to start in life. He said, that in many cases the parents had given excellent educations, but he acknowledged that they had died before the children had been well introduced into life. "Were it otherwise," he observed, "were the parent to live long enough to induce habits of industry and economy, and to see his children well settled in their respective professions or trades, there can be no objection to their being equally portioned; else, an elder brother, especially if he conducts himself worthily, [203] forms a sort of support to the rest of the family, a point d'appui, which preserves a share of respectability to them that in America they experience the want of; he keeps together that property which would otherwise probably be squandered, that respectability which would otherwise be lost."

3d. Mr. K*** having some business to transact at Washington, the metropolis of the United States, I took the opportunity and agreed to accompany him. We left Philadelphia at mid-day, in the steam boat bound for the small town of Newcastle, on the Delaware, distant about forty miles; price of passage one dollar and a half: there were twenty-four passengers on board; a fine day over head, but snow lay upon the ground and the air piercingly cold. Arrived at Newcastle a little before five P. M., where stages numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. were waiting to take passengers eighteen miles over the neck of land which here divides the Delaware from the Chesapeake Bay: previous to landing we had each a ticket, numbered, given to us, which each one took to the stage of corre-

sponding number by which he was to go, and this plan prevented all disputes and confusion.

Having all taken our seats in these vehicles, which are a sort of covered waggon having [204] benches placed in rows across, and the luggage being adjusted, they started in cavalcade, and in little more than two hours and a half arrived upon the shore of Chesapeake Bay. It was now dark, but everything was quickly removed into another steam boat, much larger than the first, and without any loss of time its wheels were set in motion and we proceeded for Baltimore at the rate of about ten miles an hour, bringing-to at the wharf there about three o'clock next morning. The steam boats here have been already frequently described, I shall only observe therefore that they are of great length, capacious, and as comfortable as carpets, stoves, good beds, and good meals can make them: this had three cabins, two aft and one before, containing altogether fifty-eight births. There are a set of regulations hung up which are strictly observed; one is that no smoking is allowed except upon deck; another, that no portmanteau or trunk be admitted into the cabin: travellers will do well therefore to take a sacde-nuit with them for the few things they may want at night; let them not forget too, to bring some book to their taste in case of a want of conversation, for Americans are in general rather reserved. The conversation here was chiefly upon the recent fatal duel between Commodores Decatur and Barron; it seemed to be [205] the general opinion that the latter could not with honour have avoided the meeting: one gentleman observed that the right man had fallen, both on account of his conduct towards Barron, and also for his quarrelsome disposition and general seeking such

combats; he had, he said, previously killed three antagonists, of whom two were English.

These American stages or caravans carry all the passengers withinside, an arrangement which renders travelling with servants expensive: we were eleven young and old, closely packed, and jumbled away at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, without interest; for we could only catch a glimpse of the country now and then by lifting up the side leather. Soon after noon we came in sight of the Capitol, and were set down at a large Tavern near to it.

The dirt, ill-arrangement and absence of common comforts in an American tavern or hotel have already been expatiated upon amply; but to meet with such things under the walls of the Capitol, at the very seat of government, I was not prepared. On entering the Hotel, a poor lad, whose dishabille of dirt and rags defies description, came with a brush, which he was making less fit for use by rubbing its bristles upon his dirtier hand, to ask if he should brush our coats. We enquired [206] for a room up stairs to shave, &c., and though past one o'clock not a bed had been made, or a breath of acceptable fresh air permitted to blow into these chambers of contamination! — Having finished the toilette as well as we were able, our first visit was to the Capitol.

It stands finely upon the edge of a high commanding ridge, from whence with one sweeping glance one views the subjacent ground down to the Potomac river, and the elevated country beyond; to the right is seen George Town and the most populous part of Washington, the President's House, the Post-Office, &c. but alas! excepting these and a few other mostly dispersed buildings, the horse, the cow,

and the swine, still graze quietly around the Capitol of Washington. Viewing however the beautiful site of this city with the eye of its venerable founder, and with him letting imagination cover it with houses and "the busy hum of men," if we then look round for the attractions of support for this multitude, the illusion vanishes. Commerce cannot but with difficulty flourish upon the shallow bed of the river, and agriculture may long strive for success in vain, with the surrounding sterility. Wherein then must the motive of the statesman be sought for founding a city in a place favourable alone to the eye? Could he make a mistake? [207] That is not probable. Could it be to favour his native State, or to gratify a whim? This is not consonant to the character of his great mind. A despot of Russia might build a city upon piles vainly to shew posterity his power: Frederick of Prussia might have his Potsdam; but Washington ever kept utility in view, and never aimed to gratify a vain wish at the expense of his fellow creatures. It is then suggested, that, impressed with the importance of quiet deliberation, he fixed the seat of government upon a spot so unattractive to the multitude that their representatives might be unbiassed by faction.

Of the Capitol the centre is yet to rear its head, the wings alone are finished; these contain the Hall of Representatives and that of the Senate — a Library[71]— a Post-Office for the Members — Committee Rooms, &c.

The Hall of Representatives is of semicircular form; a beautiful colonnade of native with capitals of Italian marble, ranges along within the semicircle and its base,

[71] The Library is lately renewed; the former one was burnt by us in the late war, for which deed we have obtained perhaps justly the appellation of "Modern Goths."— WELBY.

with rich crimson and fringed curtain drapery between the columns. The President's *throne* is placed on the centre of the base and fronting the semicircle, the seats and desks [208] for the Members ranged so as to radiate from it; the whole area is covered with a rich and rather gaudy carpet.

The Hall of the Senate is as studiously plain as that of the Representatives is gaudy; in the same form, but upon a much smaller scale, and the gallery is only upon the base of the semicircle, so that a spectator here fronts the Members; — the style of decoration throughout is far preferable to the other.

Of the debates on the tapis I can say but little, not having had time sufficient to give them much attention,— they were apparently carried on however with more decorum than from report I had reason to expect, except that the exercise of spitting upon the beautiful carpet was continued as everywhere else; the walls of the stairs and the stairs themselves also were covered with the saliva of tobacco chewers.

It being an expected compliment from strangers coming to the Seat of Government to pay their respects to its head, we drove down to the President's house, at the hour appointed; it is a handsome stone building, which has now been restored and repaired since the shock given to it by the English; but the gardens and pleasure grounds, reaching down to the banks of the Potomac, and extending again up to the Capitol, are as yet only [209] to be seen upon paper; rude nature still rules absolute over the tract. Remains of the late snow yet lay in the shade, and negligence, studied or accidental, had left it upon the flight of steps to the President's house, an old plank being laid upon the landing that visitors might get dry to the door.

A servant, not a *man of show*, admitted us into a plain hall, and ushered us up stairs to the private apartment in which we found Mr. Munroe seated alone at his bureau with various papers before him; he arose at our entrance, and himself placed chairs for us, which his *independent* servant had left the room without doing. Mr. Munroe appeared a plain quiet man in dress and manners, the English country gentleman with a physiognomy which bore marks of deep reflection: a conversation of ten minutes on indifferent subjects terminated our visit, when, instead of formal etiquette he gave me a friendly shake of the hand with a "God bless you," spoken in a pleasing tone, which left upon me a very favourable impression.

The other objects of our curiosity were, the Naval Dockyard, George Town, the Patent Office; at this last, we were much amused by the various models, amongst which, though I shall not attempt minutely to describe them, may be enumerated a car propelled with the hands by a [210] easy and very simple contrivance, a model of machinery applicable to propelling boats instead of the steam engine, several models of bridges, a cotton-carder, a plough having its beam turn upon a centre to save the trouble of swinging it round at the land ends; these were among the inventions most attracting our attention, and I now mention them as a remembrancer to good machinists who may have an opportunity of viewing them. George Town is an extensive place and pretty thickly settled; and it much resembles our more populous villages adjoining to London; the road is excellent between it and the Capitol, and to the foot of the hill is lined with houses many of which are good, substantial, handsome buildings.

In the Naval Dock there was little to review worth

mention to an English reader; we saw a clumsy monument, erected we were told to commemorate the burning of a frigate at Tripoli by Commodore Decatur. On the stocks was a frigate as they denominated it, but which appeared to be of a size equal to our second rate; and at the forge an anchor was forming of 10,000lb. weight. These were the chief objects which attracted attention. On account of the recent loss of Decatur it was the fashion to be very dull, and no *drawing-room* has been held since his death: we passed the evening with Mr. ****, a Member [211] of Congress, who had obligingly shewn us whatever was thought worth viewing, and some amusement was afforded at a lecture upon the laughing gas, in seeing its ludicrous effects upon several individuals of the company who inhaled it.

The following morning, my compagnon-de-voyage having finished his business, we quitted Virginia, and in twenty-eight hours were landed again at the Fish-market wharf in Philadelphia.

Fish is well supplied here in quantity but not in variety: it has hitherto chiefly consisted of a coarse kind called *Sea Bass*, but now the Shad fishery is just commencing; these fish come up the large rivers in shoals, and are caught in hundreds at each haul with the seine; they are a very oily fish and weigh from two or three to ten pounds and perhaps more; being a plentiful season they are just now bought of the fishermen at the price of five dollars a hundred, and have been lately as low as three dollars. In the season of 1818, they sold at sixteen and seventeen dollars a hundred. Many parties are formed during the season to see them caught and to partake of them fresh from the water; one of these being made we took a boat, which carried us under a pleasant breeze down the river to a place

called Gloucester Point, here the shore suiting we saw several seines hauling, and upon the beach caravans [212] waiting to convey the fish, as quick as caught up the country, where they are cut open, cleaned, salted down, and many of them smoked, contributing very largely to the winter food of the Americans. The Herring season comes on here immediately after that of the Shad, but it is not near so much reckoned upon.

Out of the produce of one of the hauls two fish, of about seven or eight pounds each, were taken, and quickly brought to table in excellent order; — the mode of dressing is to open the fish, nail it to a board and place it before a fire; it is thus *toasted*, and being brought in upon the board quite hot proves very good eating. In the room where we dined were hung up a printed set of rules of a fox-hunting club; but how the chase can be followed on horseback through a country so uncleared and undrained, it is to me a mystery — must too often prove like that of Caliban and his companions following the music of the invisible Ariel, "through toothed briars, sharp furzes, pricking gorse and thorns," and ending "i' the filthy mantled pool;" dry clothes and a cigar the best enjoyment of the day. By the way we had a specimen here of the early initiation into the habit of smoking; a fine child of only about three years old was very coolly walking about and puffing a cigar, while he looked on at our pastime [213] at shuffleboard, an obsolete English game, it is said, though new to our party. The day had been delightfully fine; but, tempted by the game, we lingered too long at the amusement, and on the return encountered one of those violent squalls of wind and rain which are so common here in spring; it suddenly blew tremendously, and our little sail was with difficulty taken in — the party luckily all

sat steady, or we might not have escaped with the inconvenience alone of a thorough wetting and spoiled finery.

9th. Incendiaries have lately been dreadfully alert — the whole city is under nightly apprehension of fire, and hardly a day passes without alarm, the roll of fire engines with the dismal horns of the attendants are constantly sounding in our ears: threatening letters have been received, and many buildings actually burnt down. The Theatre was consumed late on Sunday evening in a short space of time, fire having been laid in several places; snow, which lay in the streets, by adding to the reflection of light increased the tremendous effect. The cause of these crimes is sought for by some people in religious bigotry; others look with suspicion on the black population; and some, not without grounds, have attributed these diabolical deeds to some unprincipled white people of even respectable connections. To save themselves [214] from these unknown desperadoes the inhabitants of each district or parish, have formed themselves into patroles, relieving each other nightly; the watch is doubled and every precaution taken.

18th. The cry of "fire," which begun here, spreads; — Baltimore and New York are suffering from incendiaries, who are now supposed to be mechanics, many of whom are out of work and most working for low wages.

This general state of alarm and real insecurity naturally increases the anxious wish once again to breathe English air. The sails are unfurling for departure, and I should quit a country without regret where hope supported by theory has met with disappointment, were it not that, during my residence, I have found a few individuals whose worth entitles them to a lingering, painful farewell. Such characters support a state amidst the vice and folly

of the million. They fill with respectability any station, for their hearts are good; and of such were America composed there would be little to say against her sons. As, however, this is not the unalloyed lot of any the most perfect assemblage of mankind, the United States may be supposed to stand upon at least equally fair ground with others; that she may do so in time I cannot deny,— that she does so at present is not my opinion: and truth compels the avowal, that [215] actual observation of the effects of republican Government, as mankind are at present constituted, are not favourable to the improvement of their nature, or the cultivation of those high qualities which we may all admire but cannot all possess. Nor is it necessary that we should: they can alone be brought to perfection by attentive education; which subsequent reading, observation, leisure, and deep reflection may refine into the legislator, the philosopher, the statesman and all of that rank in society so essential to good government, united with general polish of manners. Now this portion of a community needs evidently to consist of but few, which are sufficient for the important parts they take; while the rest are immersed in the equally necessary affairs of trade, traffic, handicraft, &c., falling into the ranks suitable to their capacities; but that this latter class, even if they could conveniently forego their daily speculations and cares, can be expected to act with proper dignity, penetration, propriety and tact in the character of legislators and other high offices of common weal, is an expectation too absurd to need an argument. Do I then prefer the Government of my own country? I do prefer it; even with all its many faults to the present mob influence of the United States: and America must so far get rid of it as to let talents rise into respect, [216] and form a

rank in society which she now abhors,— she must too, gain more efficiency to the executive part of her Government or.....
I should expect as soon that the good citizens of London, who are certainly a very worthy body of men in their proper stations, should become superior to the court in high knowledge and refinement of manners, as that America can ever be well-conducted under a Government composed of men who are otherwise engaged in mercenary speculations of trade and commerce; these may sharpen the wits but will never elevate the understanding.

May 10th. At sea. The farewell is over; the tear has fallen; and the hearty gripe of the hand between those who "may ne'er meet again" may not be forgotten. The anchor weighed, no longer impeding the ship's course; the last friendly wave of the handkerchief (meaning more then than is afterwards remembered) has been answered; and we now pledge a health "to those far away" with feelings of regret, not unmixed with those of anticipated pleasure at the prospect of again beholding our native shore.

The progress down Delaware Bay was rough and tedious; easterly winds (an uncommon occurrence,) blowing steadily against us, and the tides alone favouring; we have been from the 2d [217] of the month working out. Off Lewistown we lay two days at anchor; pilot boats came off to the ship, and weather being fine, and some few additional stores being wanting, a party was made to go on shore; an excursion which had nearly ended disastrously. Those who have been at sea are well enough acquainted with the difficulties of getting down and up a ship's side, into one boat, and then from that into another, landing upon a surfy beach, &c. After experiencing all

this we got on shore pretty well, and proceeding for the town were agreeably surprised to find a neat village, though apparently it has seen better days: the soil a dry sandy gravel, and the country around a good black loam and clay. Almost for the first time we saw in America pretty neat gardens well stocked with flowers, in which, and in the neatness of their houses, the owners seemed to enjoy much satisfaction. It might partly be the effect of land after five days tossing upon the water that we fancied this place so pleasant, and that we thought, if retirement were the object, a man might well seek it here: several of the inhabitants very civilly invited the party into their houses and gardens, and a rich bouquet of flowers was presented to us by a very handsome interesting girl the daughter of one of the proprietors; — may her beauty last long, and herself meet not [218] the fate of the flowers she gave; — they were lost and scattered to the winds on our passage to the ship, during which we had sufficient employment to take care of ourselves alone.

The female portion of American society has occupied so little of our attention, that I fear the omission will be considered by the ladies here as the most material and least excusable fault; for, as a drama without female beauty and devotion to it, is hard to manage with interest, so a traveller's journal which shall contain no pleasing observations upon the lovely half of our species must expect their unqualified disapprobation. Yet would I deprecate their anger, and place my defence best perhaps upon the cause for my silence — where it is our anxious wish to admire, it grieves us to find fault; especially if we cannot qualify our observations with some praise.— Yet, having entered upon the subject, truth urges on the pen to record my impressions, however unfavourable they may prove.

As, in the general character of the men so little can be found to tally with the best drawn models of a noble republican, so has the education of the women been totally mistaken. Light and darkness are not more opposite than the Roman matron and this modern female republican, who is equally destitute of the sedate, retired manners so attaching [219] in my own countrywomen, as of the lively wit and fascinating manners of the French females; though, covered with the finery of the latter, the poor things are taught to believe they must be as engaging; possessing forms, too, not at all or the least possible en bon point. Brought up entirely ignorant of every real domestic duty, the method taken to remedy this error, previous to their marriage and consequent entering upon those duties, is truly laughable — they are sent to some cook and confectioner as pupils to learn economy and make pastry! and after a practice in tarts, cheese-cakes, bon bons, &c. for a few weeks, are declared fit to undertake the important concerns of a wife and mother! Receiving from nature but little apparent warmth of constitution, they neither excite interest by intrigue, nor respect by the domestic virtues, and become completely insipid beings; — is it then surprising that with minds so prepared for frivolity, they should be bent alone upon extravagant and childish decoration of their persons, which, together with their total ignorance of domestic economy, is for ever bringing their husbands to bankruptcy?

It will of course be understood that the above observations relate chiefly to the inhabitants of the Eastern parts; and that there are exceptions to be made within the range of this immense territory. [220] The lovely brunette, the immediate cause of these reflections, is an instance; and for a general one, as to form and features, may be men-

tioned the women of Kentucky.— But it is time that we return to our boat. On regaining the beach we found it laying *high and dry*, the boys left in charge of her crying with vexation and fear of the Captain's displeasure at their not being able to keep her in the water. An awful black cloud brought on by a violent squall just at this instant began to pour down a deluge of rain, in the midst of which we were all exerting ourselves, some in the water and some out, to launch the boat; which having with great difficulty accomplished, to jump into her and immediately pull the oars and keep her head against the sea was next with great efforts effected; and in this had we not succeeded, she would inevitably have filled instantly. We now got through the breakers, and drenched with rain and sea pulled away for the pilot boat, into the small cabin of which we dived, and felt comparatively safe from the squall which increased accompanied with thunder and very vivid lightning. Near an hour and a half now passed in working up to the ship though the distance did not appear great; and then the pilot would not be persuaded to lay us alongside for fear of the consequences to his boat in coming in contact with the ship on the [221] rough sea; so that we were compelled to get out and brave the elements again in the small boat, a thing not easily managed, having a lady of the party; the boat was deep in the water, the sea ran high, and the Captain allowed, after we were happily received on board just as the darkness of night prevailed, that the chances had been against it. Here again we proved that "delays are dangerous," the unnecessary one of an hour occasioned all our troubles, and might have sent us to the bottom; not to expatiate upon the loss of a large heap of purchased oysters which, having enough to do to save ourselves, were left upon the

beach for the finder. Upon the whole, however, we had reason to be pleased with this little trip and farewell to the shore; it had effected a softening of unfavourable impressions; we had unexpectedly met with youth and beauty, native feeling and taste, neatness and comfort, and we departed in charity.

A dismal midnight leave of Columbia's shores followed. After riding out another day of "hard hearted winds," attended by thunder and lightning, the anchor was once more weighed, and as night approached, we succeeded in gaining the mouth of the Bay with a sufficient "slant of wind" to get out. The darkness now became extreme; and about eleven o'clock the pilot quitted the ship [222] and went on board his attending boat, leaving his best instructions in what manner to steer; yet a little apprehensive on account of the rocks called "Hen and chickens," and some other shoals which were yet to be passed. Two other vessels, the sounds from which could now and then be heard, were working out at the same time; their pilots having also left them, their lanthern lights, which had been watched with some comfort, were extinguished as well as our own; and we turned in to behold land no more until we might hail the white cliffs of Albion.

10th. Our good ship, the Factor, has now fairly taken her departure, and is "walking away" with a tolerably fair breeze. A fine sky smiles overhead, and the two ships and several more are in view; one of our consorts has borne down and spoke, she is bound for the East Indies and heavily laden. Some immense flocks of small birds are seen attending upon shoals of mackarel, urging on their way to meet destruction upon the coasts of America.— But it is not my intention to detail at length the events of the passage: — we experienced, as many have

done before, black heavy clouds rising in successive squalls; the ominous porpoise in shoals leaped forward above the wave, and darting in again shot swiftly along seeming to contend with the ship in velocity. The fog [223] bank at early morn sometimes displayed its illusive scenery of land, trees, lakes, and mountains; pleasing as the visions of young Hope, and as unsubstantial. Occasionally we watched —

> "The course of the far distant sail
> 'Till shapeless and lost to the view"

pressing onward over this world of waters to gain the hoped-for port; and if by chance a vessel passed near enough to speak, it was an event highly interesting to all.

The first two weeks were rendered tedious by contrary winds and calms, but during the rest of the passage the breezes seemed to blow on purpose to forward us; and at length, on the 1st June, we beheld the high land of Erin bearing exactly as our Captain[72] had calculated; indeed it is but justice to him to say that his lunar and other observations were throughout correct. He is a brave and worthy man from whom we experienced every polite attention to comfort during the passage. We now bore up the channel with a strong but favourable breeze, and passing Holyhead took in a pilot, and the following morning the Factor was brought safely into dock at Liverpool (in a hard gale however,) in twenty-four days from leaving Delaware Bay.

[224] Having arrived in terrâ cognitâ again, I think it the proper place to take leave of the reader. Should Fortune, unpropitious at home — the spirit of enterprise — or any other motive, ever induce him to seek the shores of Columbia, he has my best wishes for success, if he shall

[72] Mr. Sheed of the United States Navy.— WELBY.

deserve them; and should any of the hints here given prove conducive to it, my end is answered. And let Americans cease to show anger at the observations of those travellers who have visited their country: though unfavourable the reports we give, they are the best proofs of the friendly interest we take in their welfare, and of the hopes we entertain of what they may in time become. Their soreness upon the mention of their faults is truly unreasonable, for they are such as they may amend. The man who should laugh at a blind eye or a wooden leg would be silly and illiberal; but if satire is levelled at curable failings the wise will take it in good part.

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